GATHA SRI ADI GRANTH

AND

THE CONTROVERSY

PIAR SINGH

1996

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ਕੂੜ ਨਿਖੁਟੇ ਨਾਨਕਾ ਓੜਕਿ ਸਚਿ ਰਹੀ ॥

FALSEHOOD PERISHES AND VERILY
TRUTH DOTH PREVAIL IN THE END

PREFACE

The reasons prompting the production of this work are detailed in its Introductory Chapter; and I have no mind to dilate on these any further . I only crave the indulgence of the truth-loving readers and seek of them to go through the book minutely and sift the truth for themselves .

An effort has been made to substantiate every little thing I have indicated in this book with specific reference to documents I have relied upon . Since it was not possible to cover all that appeared in the news media, I have, for the convenience of the inquisitive reader, added to the book an appendix (No. II) showing publications for seeking further details . To avoid taxing the readers' patience unduly, I have kept back a large number of communications that I received from friends and sympathisers. I, however, owe them my sincerest gratitude, for they sustained me in the hours when I, at my advanced age, was unjustifiably subjected to heavy strain.

Since the book contains a large number of quotes from the Holy Scripture (Gurbānī), I have by way of precaution given the original text in Gurmukhi, along with its transliteration in Roman . For facilitating the decipherment of the quotes a Key to Transliteration has been provided. For the same reason, diacritics too have been used— though not at all places . Names and titles of such books, as are but too familiar, have been

spared . Punjabi and Hindi words used in the text have, however, been provided diacritics to facilitate their pronunciation. Because of the excessive use of Gurbānī which had, of necessity to be italicized, I have not kept up the convention of italicizing Punjabi/Hindi words everywhere. A glossary of such terms, however, has been provided in the book as Appendix I. Likewise, I have avoided italicizing titles of works which are still in their manuscript form.

I owe my gratitude to a number of friends who have helped me see this book through. Seeking indulgence of others, I would like to express my sincerest gratitude to Mr. Robert Moore, the distinguished Language Instructor of Grand Ledge Public Schools, Michigan (U.S.A.) who has taken immense pains to go through the draft of the book, make corrections and suggest valuable improvements. My profound thanks are due to Dr. Jaswant Singh who has managed to see the book published through the Anant Education and Rural Development Foundation, Inc, Michigan (U.S.A.). I owe my thanks to him for prevailing upon Dr. Pashaura Singh as well to lend me, for reproduction in this book, the photocopies of the facsimiles of the Kartarpuri Bir, that he possessed.

Amritsar.   PIAR SINGH
8 September, 1995

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KEY TO TRANSLITERATION

Gur-mukhi	Roman	Gur-mukhi	Roman	Gur-mukhi	Roman	Gur-mukhi	Roman
ਕ	ka	ਤ	ta	ਅ	a	ਹ	ha
ਖ	kha	ਥ	tha	ਆ	à	ਰਿ (ऋ)	ri
ਗ	ga	ਦ	da	ਇ	i/y/e/		
ਘ	gha	ਧ	dha	ਈ	ī	ਕ਼	q/k
						(ਅਰਬੀ)	
ਙ	ń	ਨ	na	ਉ	u/o	ਫ਼	f
						(ਅਰਬੀ)	
ਚ	cha/c	ਪ	pa	ਊ	ū		
ਛ	chha	ਫ	pha	ਏ	e		
ਜ	ja	ਬ	ba	ਐ	ai/ae	Other Symbols:	
ਝ	jha	ਭ	bha	ਓ	o	V verse	
ਞ	ń	ਮ	ma	ਔ	au	( ) Additional/ elucidatory
ਟ	ṭ	ਯ	ya	ਅੰ	m/n	information/ sound added
ਠ	ṭha	ਰ	ra			[] Sound written but not
ਡ	ḍa	ਲ	la	ਸ	s	pronounced in Gurbani
ਢ	ḍha	ਵ	va	ਸ਼	sh/ś	
ਣ	ṇ	ੜ	ṛa	ਸ਼	ṣ	

ABBREVIATIONS

Besides usual abbreviations used in English Research Works, the following abbreviations have been used to facilitate references :

Abs	Abstracts of Sikh Studies
Auth	Authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir
KBD	Kartarpuri Bir de Darshan
Bīr	Kartarpuri Bīr
Gāthā	Gatha Sri Adi Granth
G. Nir	Gurbani Nirnay
Pbi Tri	Punjabi Tribune
P. Att.	Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib: Academics
T&Mc.	Ernest Trumpp And W. H . Mcleod.
Tri	Tribune (English Daily)

INTRODUCTORY

BACKGROUND

A research project was undertaken by me in 1986, with financial assistance from Guru Nanak Dev University. The object was to find out the process and stages through which the arduous task of compilation and canonization of Gurbānī (The Holy Word of the Gurus) had passed, as also to identify the *bīr* or the *Granth* that had been prepared by Bhāī Gurdās at the behest of the Fifth Master, Gurū Arjun Dev.

The identification of the original *bīr* called the *Ādi Granth* was necessary because, whenever some problem relating to Gurbānī cropped up, reference was invariably made to the Kartārpurī Bīr for its resolution . In the view of some scholars the bona fides of the Kartārpurī Bir itself were not beyond question. The presence in it of the Rāgamālā, an apocrypha, irritated them the most . There was yet another section of the people who firmly believed in its genuineness and clung to it tenaciously.

In the fifties of the present century a question cropped up whether the short mangal (ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ) should precede or follow the details of the authorship of the hymn and the rāga (musical mode) to which it belonged. After a lot of controversy a consensus was arrived at to follow, in this particular case, the pattern that had been observed in the Kartārpurī Bīr. This gave rise to a strange motley collection of mangals transcribed up and down the headings of the various sections of the *Adi Granth*. This left an academically

oriented and discerning reader altogether bewildered. Then, there came to my notice a voluminous book of 860 pages of double the usual size published by the SGPC itself. It listed as many as six to seven thousand text-variants of Gurbānī under the heads "incorrect" and "correct". All these left me amazed and perplexed so that I decided to enquire for myself why things continued to get confused notwithstanding persistent adherence to the Bīr which is claimed to be the work of the Infallible Gurū Arjun and a meticulous amanuensis of the calibre of Bhāī Gurdās?

THE APPROACH

Since the problem related to the canonization of the revealed Word and the coming up of the Holy Scripture from its inception to its final form, it was decided that the enquiry be based exclusively on the evidence provided by earlier compilations and old codices; and that the tradition may be kept in sight but it alone need not be the decisive factor. This approach, it was thought, would provide a real insight into the stages through which the revealed Word had to pass to acquire its present form, at the hands of its earlier compilers and adorers.

THE BOOK AND ITS AFTERMATH

The book so planned took a little over five years to complete and appear in print . It appeared under the title *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth* in October 1992. It had not yet hit the stands when a band of Chandigarh based scholars of the Institute of Sikh Studies raised an alarm. On a representation from the SGPC its publisher, the University, thought it fit to tentatively suspend the sale of the book. The things did not stop at that. I witnessed no less than an inquisition let loose on me. I was charged with blasphemy and for that I was ordered to undergo a forty-

day penance at the Rāmsar Shrine, where the Holy Scripture had materialized in the past .

My experience with the Executive Head of the SGPC too had been a very unhappy one. I had, at the outset offered to make amendments in the book and, if need be, to apologise as well, in the event of any serious digression by me. Two requests made by me to the SGPC Chief publicly (16 Dec., 1992 and 9 Jan., 1993) and full six week's patient wait thereafter, did not bring in a single line from him on the point. Even the Vice Chancellor's three letters addressed to him have to this day borne no fruit, although the sale of the book was tentatively suspended by the V.C. on the express condition that he would be supplied a copy of the findings of SGPC's fact-finding Committee for a final thrash-out at the University level.

My pleadings with the Acting Jathedar, Prof. Manjit Singh, made through nine letters addressed to him from time to time to apprise me of the objectionable passages in the book to enable me to make corrections have also fetched no response. A promise made by him through a Press Note (dated 22 March, 1994) stands unfulfilled to this day.

Likewise, my repeated requests to let me have a copy of the audio cassette containing an account of the hearing at the Akal Takht have been repeatedly turned down for reasons best known to the Jathedar .

This apathy on the part of the SGPC and the Jathedar has now forced me to publish this book. A need for it was felt much more acutely since the original book was not available and there were lots of misunderstandings about me and my book, *Gāthā Srī-Ādi Granth*. Also, because the Chandigarh hostile camp has put in much in its *Abstracts of Sikh Studies* and the two works it has recently published, namely (i) *Planned Attack on Aad Sri*

Guru Granth Sahib (Bachittar Singh), and *Ernest Trumpp and W.H. Mcleod* (Trilochan Singh). My sole aim is to enable the wider readership to judge the facts on merit.

Lastly, it may be stressed with utmost humility that no disrespect is meant, nor has any ever been shown by me to the Holy Granth. I, like all other devoted Sikhs, rever the Holy Word embedded in it as the living Guru. Holy Scriptures of all great religions have often suffered at the hands of their incompetent scribes, and not because of their Master's fault. As such, I, in perfect good faith, was led to point out a few scribal mistakes that had come my way, to the Sikh votaries for their deliberation . And, secondly, to stress that it is wrong to put too much reliance on the Kartarpuri Bir for solving canonical problems, since it does not turn out to be the original *Adi Granth*.

With growing interest of the World Religious Community in the Sikh faith and the Sikh people, a demand for an intensive study of its Scripture is bound to grow keener and keener. The slogan with the present day generation of scholars is to go to the original source rather than depend on the secondary ones. Under the circumstances, it becomes a paramount duty of the Sikh community to present the inquisitive reader a reliable text of the Sikh Scripture. My humble effort had been directed to that end and it was in consonance of the work got done by the SGPC itself in 1977, which stands published under the head *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī diāṅ Santhā Sainchīāṅ ate Purātan hath-likhit pāwan bīrāṅ de parspar Pāth Bhedāṅ dī Sūchī.*

Since *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth* is still not available to the readers, it has been thought advisable to give Abstracts of that book's contents first and thereafter to dilate, in details, on the controversy that raged in 1993-94 and the Main Issues that were involved therein .

BOOK I

GĀTHĀ SRĪ ĀDI GRANTH

(ABSTRACTS)

SECTION ŚUNYA (0)

Plates

Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth has six sections . The opening section with Śunya (cipher) as its distinctive mark, contains thirty-eight plates of documentry evidence reproduced in facsimiles to support the present writer's findings on various issues . Some of the writings that have been brought to light for the first time in a prominent way are specimens of writings from Bābā Mohan Pothīs, Gurū Hari Sahāi Pothī, Bāhowal Pothī, Ms 1245 of Guru Nanak Dev University, the Kartārpurī Bīr, Bhāī Banno's Bīr, Sāranke Granth and a few others that merited discussion. Legends noted underneath them throw ample light on their significance and mention the sources the facsimiles have been obtained from. They, thus, are vital evidence for conclusions arrived at in *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth*, shortened to *Gāthā* for purposes of reference in this book.

SECTION I

THE TRADITION

SOURCE

Section I of the *Gāthā* delineates the tradition that pertains to the canonization of the Holy Word. References met in the two manuscript copies of the Holy *Granth*--the Dehrādūn Bīr (1716 BK/AD 1659) and the Granth copied by Bhāī Rām Rāi (1749 BK/AD 1692), listed in the *Gāthā* at Nos. 14 and 28, confirm the existence of a Granth associated with the name of Gurū Arjun, the Fifth Master . It was known as "Pancham Pātishāh dā Granth" or "Baṛā Bābā". Details of its compilation and canonization, however, began to trickle down some 165 years after the event. *Bansāwalīnāmā* (1826 BK/AD 1769) by Kesar Singh Chhibbar gives 1658 BK/AD 1601 as the date of its compilation. He mentions the fear of interpolation in *bānī* by Mīnās as the major concern that prompted Gurū Arjun to undertake the job. *Mahimā Prakāsh* (1833 BK/AD 1776) of Serūp Chand Bhallā and *Sikhān-dī-Bhagat-mālā* (circa 1847 BK/AD 1790) attribute it to the need to provide the newly arisen community, a book of their own. Details of efforts made for collecting bānī, its scrutiny and canonization, find full mention for the first time in Serūp Chand Bhallā's *Mahimā Prakāsh* and the account thereafter— minor differences excepted— serves as a prototype for the writers to come.

The tradition, as it developed and is current at present—minor differences discarded—runs as follows:

1. Gurū Arjun, the Fifth Nānak, feeling the need for giving his adherents a Holy Scripture and, according to some writers, for saving the genuine writings of his predecessors as also of himself from interpolations, thought it necessary to canonize the Holy Word. He, accordingly, sent message to the centres of Sikh Community to send to him any collection of Gurūs' hymns that they may have in their possession.

2. For retrieving earlier collections from Sahansar Rām, son of Bābā Mohan and a grandson of Gurū Amardas, he sent first Bābā Buddhā and then Bhāī Gurdās. Both returned empty-handed. Then, so goes the legend, Gurū Arjun himself went there accompanied by a band of musicians . There, he squat on the threshold of Bābā Mohan's doublestoreyed house and sang a hymn that, though addressed to the Charming Lord of the Cosmos, seemed to be in his (Bābā Mohan's) praise[1]. Thereupon his heart melted and he parted with pothīs (codices) he had with him. These, it is said, were carried in a palanquin to the place which was selected for compilation of the Holy Word . The place is now called Rāmsar. These pothīs are known as 'Goindwāl', or 'Bābā Mohan Pothīs' in Sikh chronicles.

3. Gurū Arjun learnt that a work by Gurū Nānak, entitled 'Prāṇ Sangalī ' was available with one, Rājā Shivnābhi, of Singhalādīp. He sent one, Pairā Mokhā, to collect that work from there. On its arrival at Rāmsar, the place of compilation, it was found to be an unauthentic work. So it was discarded .

4. The Bhagats represented in the Granth them-

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[1]. The reference is to the Fifth Gurū's hymn, *mohan tere ūnche mandir mahala apārā* in the musical mode Gauṛī. For the full text see *AG*, p. 248.

selves came in person to the Gurū and got their bānīs
incorporated in the Holy Granth.

5. After the original Ādi Bīr or *Ādi Granth* was
completed, one, Bhāī Banno, with Gurū Arjun's permis-
sion, took the Holy Granth to his village, Māngat, in
the wilderness of Goindalā. He prepared another copy
of the Holy Scripture but took liberty to enter a few
hymns which he thought were Gurū Nānak's . This
recension, in Sikh circles, is known as Bhāī Banno's Bīr
whereas the one got prepared by Gurū Arjun is called
Bhāī Gurdās' Bīr.

6. Hearing that Gurū Arjun was preparing a Holy
Book, the renowned Sūfī saint, Shāh Hussain and Hindū
divines, Kāhnā, Chhajjū and Sādhū Jan, approached the
Gurū with a request to include their bānīs too in the
Holy Scripture, but all were sent back politely.

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

Subsequent history of the Ādi Bīr is shrouded in
mystery. The tradition holds that after the death of Bābā
Gurdittā, elder son of the Sixth Gurū and heir apparent
to the Gurgaddī after him, the Ādi Bir was usurped by
Dhīr Mall, son of Bābā Gurdittā so as to assert his claim
to the pontificate. His present descendants hold that Bīr
is still in their possession. It is known as the Kartārpurī
Bīr in Sikh Circles.

SECTION II

RESUME OF MAJOR RESEARCH WORKS

This section of the *Gāthā*, examines all the major works that have been so far brought out by eminent scholars on the subject of canonizing of the Holy Scripture by Gurū Arjun, the Fifth Master . The study begins with search for the authentic version of the Holy Scripture by its first printer and publisher . This was in circa AD 1860. Lālā Harsukh Rāi the proprietor of the Kohinūr Printing Press, Lahore, in consultation with Sikh High Priests at Amritsar, decided to print the Damdamī recension . This came in AD 1864-65.

THE BHASAUR SCHOOL

The protagonists of the Bhasaur School of thought (Ist quarter of the 20th century) under the leadership of Bābū Tejā Singh, stood for expurgating from the Holy Granth all that was not from the pen of the Sikh Gurūs. They objected particularly to the inclusion of the Rāgamālā. In the controversy that raged, recourse was often made to examining earlier codices of the *Ādi Granth* to ascertain whether they contained the Rāgamālā or not. The Kartārpurī Bīr which contained Rāgamālā thus became suspect.

BĀNĪ BEORĀ

Dr. Charan Singh's *Bānī Beorā* (AD 1908) presents a

descriptive study of the Holy Scripture under seventy-
four heads fortified with a lot of statistical data. The
Lāhore Bīṛ (No. 8) which Dr . Charan Singh thought
was prepared at the same time as Bhāī Banno's, i.e.,
during Bhāī Banno's journey to Lahore to get the Granth
bound, finds its first mention in this work.

PRACHĪN BĪRĀN

Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib dīāṅ Prāchīn Bīrāṅ (AD 1944) by
G.B. Singh, briefly referred to as *Prāchīn Bīrāṅ* in this
study, is the first attempt to study the coming up of
the *Ādi Granth* systematically. He goes into· the details
of its annals, its recensions and contents . He relies for
his study on thirty-eight codices that came his way. His
findings on some crucial points, however, beg questions .
He holds that the Ādi Bīṛ or the first recension of the
Holy Granth prepared by Bhāī Gurdās had come into
being by the time Akbar visited the Gurū at Kartārpur
in AD 1598. Misled by a doubtful date in the Bohat Bīṛ,
he places thè completion of the *Ādi Granth* in 1648 BK/
AD 1591, ignoring the fact that the *Ādi Granth* contained
all the *bāṇī* that had emanated from the mouth of the
Fifth Master, which activity lasted till the Gurū quit this
world in 1663 BK/AD 1606. He holds that the original
manuscript prepared by Bhāī Gurdās on behest of Gurū
Arjun, was lost for good in the family feud that followed
the death of the Eighth Gurū. He believes that the
Kartārpurī Bīṛ is a spurious copy prepared from some
recension of Bhāī Banno's Bīṛ.

The Damdamī Bīṛ, he holds, took its final shape at
a place called Damdamā Sāhib in Anandpur and not
at Talwandī Sābo.

G.B. Singh holds Rāgamālā to be an epilogue to a
Hindi poet, Ālam's famous romance `Mādhavanal Kām

Kandlā produced in AD 1583. This, he feels, has wrongly
found its way in the Holy Scripture, possibly through
the ignorance of some Sikh scribe.

PRĀCHĪN BĪRĀṄ BĀRE

G.B. Singh's book provoked Bhai Jodh Singh to write
a number of articles in 1945-46 which were published
later on under the title *Prāchīn Bīrāṅ Bāre Bhulāṅ dī
Sodhāṅ*. Bhai Jodh Singh does not bring in any new fact.
He only catches hold of the author by his own words
and shows him the fallacies he is involved in. He takes
G.B. Singh to task for writing on the Kartārpurī Bīr
without having seen it. He points out that G.B. Singh's
greatest blunder lies in accepting the Bohat Bīr's du-
bious date (1649 BK) which appears at an odd place in
that bīr.

Throughout his discussion Bhai Jodh Singh proceeds
with the firm conviction that the Kartārpurī Bīr is the
original Granth prepared by Bhāī Gurdās.

PARAM PAVITRA BĪR DĀ SAṀKALAN KĀL

This book is a reproduction of six articles written
by Mahān Singh for the *Khālsā Samāchār* in the fifties
of the present century. Prompted by the date of the
completion of the *Ādi Granth* found in Kesar Singh
Chhibbar's *Bansāwalīnāmā*, some writers had begun to
assert that the correct date of the completion of the *Ādi
Granth* is 1658 BK/AD 1601 and not 1661 BK/AD 1604 as
recorded in the Kartārpurī Bīr. Mahān Singh had no
direct evidence to controvert this claim . He, therefore,
adopted an indirect course of challenging the veracity
of other dates found in the *Bansāwalīnāmā*, some of
which, he showed, could not be sustained . He ends his
book, with the sentimental appeal that the wellwishers

of the Panth (the Sikh community) end the nefarious act of dislodging the validly instituted Kartārpurī Bīṛ from its place of pride.

KARTĀRPURĪ BĪR DE DARSHAN

The book is a product of the controversy that raged in the first half of the twentieth century on the issue of 'Rāgamālā '. The matter was referred by the SGPC to a committee consisting of Bhai Jodh Singh, Prof. Teja Singh, Principal Ganga Singh and Jathedar Mohan Singh . They were to inspect the Kartārpurī Bīṛ and report whether Rāgamālā in it was an interpolation or genuinely an integral part thereof. The committee, all along, proceeded on the presumption that the Kartārpurī Bīṛ was the original manuscript prepared by Bhāī Gurdās . This was, in fact, an article of faith with Bhai Jodh Singh, as has been pointed out above in the section on *Prāchīn Bīṛāṅ Bāre*. The verdict the committee gave is available on page [ੲ] of the book under study.

At the time of its last inspection in 1946, which took five days, Bhai Jodh Singh took care to take with him Giāni Mahān Singh and a few other expert scribes to prepare a page by page account of the Kartarpurī Bīṛ's contents, of deletions, additions and corrections, made in the text as well as of notings done in the margin . The present work is a faithful reproduction of the notes taken then . It gives, in details, contents of the Bīṛ and a pagewise account of its special features, i.e. of its physiognomy. The work can help an inquisitive re-searcher form a fairly good idea of the Bīṛ that it portrays .

Since we shall have to revert to this work time and again in our discussion on the authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ, we propose to give here Bhai Jodh Singh's main contentions only :

(1) Rāgamālā is an integral part of the Bīr. It is in the same hand as are many other pages that precede it . In accordance with the scheme of pagination, it is covered by folio No. 974. In the *sūchī-patra* (contents' page) too, it appears at folio 974.

(2) The Bīr fulfils all the three conditions considered necessary by G. B. Singh to have its claim substantiated, namely, (a) *Japu* in it is a copy, at first hand, of the one inscribed by Gurū Rāmdās; (b) The Dates of Demise from the First to the Fifth Gurūs in it are in Bhāī Gurdās' hand; and (c) approval-marks, *sudhu* and *sudhu keechai*, are in Gurū Arjun's hand.

(3) The discrepancies in actual folio numbers with those reported in the *sabad-tatkarā* (Index of hymns) are explainable by postulating that they are *sainchī* (section of a book's) folios given in advance.

(4) The discrepancies in the text of the indexed lines with their counterparts in the text proper, need not disturb us, for the text in the body of the manuscript corresponds fully to the reading that is current at present .

(5) The Kartārpurī Bīr has three *tatkarās* which is a unique feature of this manuscript .

PURĀTAN BĪRĀN TE VICHĀR

Harnām Dās Udasīn's book *Ādi Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī diāñ Purātan Bīrāñ te Vichār* came out in two parts in 1969 and 1972 respectively. He holds that the Kartārpurī Bīr is not the original copy got prepared by Gurū Arjun . It is rather a copy of some defective version of Bhāī Banno's recension . He doubts the veracity of Gurū's autographs found in various manuscripts because of variations they show in their noting. He regrets that the current copy of the *Ādi Granth* contains serveral thousand errors made by the copyists . He opines that

the main task before the Sikh scholarship should be to place before the world an authentic version of Gurbānī. He holds that neither the original bīr prepared by Bhāī Gurdās nor the Damdamī Bīr associated with Gurū Gobind Singh is available.

ĀDI BĪR BARE

This book by Prof. Sahib Singh appeared in AD 1970. He holds that Gurūs themselves preserved their bānī. He bases his study on the inner evidence of the bānī itself. He does not subscribe to the view that the hymn in Rāga Gaurī, *ūñche mandir mahal apārā* by Gurū Arjun, was addressed to Bābā Mohan to persuade him to part with pothīs that were in his possession .

SRĪ GURU GRANTH PRAKĀSH

The first edition of this prestigious work by Piara Singh Padam of Patiala appeared in AD 1977 and the second in AD 1990. Following Prof. Sahib Singh, he holds that Gurūs themselves preserved their bānī. He thinks that Gurū Arjun probably began the canonization of bānī in 1648 BK and finished it in 1659 BK/AD 1601. In fixing these dates he evidently has tried to reconcile the two dates given by G.B. Singh and Kesar Singh Chhibbar. He regards the Kartārpurī Bīr to be a work distinct from one prepared by Bhāī Gurdās .

GURBĀNĪ SAMPĀDAN NIRNAI

This work by Haribhajan Singh, ex-Principal, Shahīd Sikh Missionary College, Amritsar, appeared in AD 1981. Following Prof. Sahib Singh he holds bānī to have come down from each Gurū to his successor . Dwelling on the shortcomings of the script, he advocates correct pronunciation of certain sounds so necessary for remov-

ing confusion. He holds brief for the Kartārpuri Bīr though he is critical of certain lapses made by Mahān Singh while taking notes for Bhai Jodh Singh's book, *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan.*

Haribhajan Singh's book contains much useful information about the efforts made by late Gurdwara research scholar, Randhir Singh's team to locate and identify the Damdami Bīr but with no success .

THE AUTHENTICITY OF KARTĀRPURĪ BĪR

The author of the Book, S . Daljeet Singh, claims that the work under study was taken in hand to dispel doubts created by Dr . Mcleod about the genuineness of the Kartārpurī Bīr even after the appearance of *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan* by Bhai Jodh Singh . Daljeet Singh holds that Bhai Jodh Singh's book establishes its authenticity firmly (p.vii). In his book Daljeet Singh has brought no new fact to light . He has only restated Bhai Jodh Singh's views more elaborately and with greater emphasis. We shall deal with his assertions in our account of Main Issues (Book III) involved in the controversy.

SECTION III

EARLIER POTHĪS AND BĪRS

Gāthā's Section III presents a detailed study of fortyfour manuscript copies of the *Ādi Granth* and pothīs containing the Holy Word . Of them only a few have been selected to be dealt with here. They are those that have a direct bearing on the subject in hand, namely the coming up of the Holy Scripture. To facilitate any reference for further check up the serial number of the respective work, as listed in the *Gāthā*, is given in parenthesis against each.

BĀBĀ MOHAN POTHĪS (No.1)

The Sikh tradition is replete with the details of the retrieval of Bābā Mohan Pothīs by Gurū Arjun from Goindwāl on the eve of commencing the work of canonization of bānī. Two of them, still extant are known as the Ahiyāpur Pothī and the Pinjore Pothī . They have 300 and 224 folios respectively with a large number of blank pages left in between the inscribed ones .

2. The Ahiyāpur Pothī has *bānī* of the first three Gurūs together with that of a few bhagats . It pertains mainly to the musical modes Sūhī, Prabhātī, Dhanāsarī, Basant, Tilaṅg, Bhairau, Mārū and Kedārā. As for poetic genres, it confines to chaupadas, aṣṭpadīs and chhaṅts only. The Pinjore Pothī, likewise, covers *bānī* in musical modes, Rāmkalī, Sorathi, Sārang and Malār by almost

the same set of writers as the Ahiyāpur Pothī. The Rāmkalī rāga in it contains a few longer compositions namely, Oamkār, the Siddha Goshti and the Anand . No pothī has any vār in it .

3. Each rāga in the two pothīs begins with the Mūlmantra. It, with minor variations here and there, usually runs:

Ek Oamkār	(੧ੳ)
Satgurū Parsādu	(ਸਤਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਸਾਦੁ)
Sachu nāmu Kartāru	(ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਰੁ)
Nirbhau Nirīkār	(ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰ)
Akāl mūrati Ajūnī	(ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ)
Śambhau	(ਸੰਭਉ)

This last one, sambhau , is followed by guruparsād at six places whereas at eight places, the Mūlmantra ends on sambhau itself. This shows that the Mūlmantra according to the ancients, closed on sambhau.

4. The captions used for indicating authorship of the hymns pertaining to different rāgas go mostly not with the nomenclature mahālla that is current at present but, in case of the First Gurū, with the honorific "Bābā" or "Bābā Pātishāh". In case of the Second and the Third Master, we have invariably mahal (ਮਹਲ) and mahalu (ਮਹਲੁ). "Mahalu " was the earlier form for indicating the Gurū. It later on gave way to mahalā (ਮਹਲਾ) pronounced by some, as "maihlā" and by others as "mahallā"

5. Captions to sections covering bānī of Kabīr and Nāmdev, in almost all cases, go conjointly, e.g.

sūhī kabīr nāmā bhagat kī bānī	(ਸੂਹੀ ਕਬੀਰ ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤ ਕੀ ਬਾਨੀ)
bhairau kamīr nāmā bhagat	(ਭੈਰਉ ਕਮੀਰ ਨਾਮਾ ਭਗਤ)

Interestingly, at a few places, Kabīr and Nāmdev have been portrayed as bhagats of Gurū Nānak. Thus,

we have—

> *bhairau kamīr nāmā bhagat bābe de*

and—

> *kedārā kamīr nāmā bābe de bhagat*

6. In both the pothīs there appear a few penned through hymns in the name of Ghulām and Sadā Sewak. Their listing in the pothīs is after the Gurūs but before the bhagats . They bear "Nānik" as their pen name. Their authorship, however, is enigmatic. On the face, they apppear to be by the Fourth Master whose auto-graph as *ghulām mast taindā jeth chand* appears on one of the blank folios of the Pinjore Pothī. Yet this is not certain . Our surmise on this point appears in the *Gāthā* on page 108.

7. The date "Sammat 1652 Magh Vadī I" on the fly leaf is evidently a later interpolation . Room for insert-ing it has been made by erasing *"ek oamkār satiguru prasād sachu"* with which the note actually began . Indeed, the pothī had in the beginning no date and not even the fly leaf note. This is proved by the discrepancy in writing the name of the Third Gurū. In the colophon on folio 8 the original writer of the pothī spells Guru Amardas' name correctly, but that of the fly leaf records it as 'Amber'.

8. Bawa Prem Singh Hoti, depending on some little known treatise called "Sākhīān Gurū Bans Kīān" said to contain an account of the lives and activities of the scions of the Bhallā family, suggests that the work of preparing the pothīs began in 1627 BK/AD 1570 and was completed in 1629 BK/AD 1572.

GURŪ HARĪ SAHĀI POTHĪ (NO. 2)

This precious pothī, now lost for good, is said to have come down from Gurū Nānak to the next Gurū

at the time of succession to Gurgaddī. Before its disappearance copious notes from it and a few photocopies of it were taken by Giānī Gurdit Singh. Some of these he has reproduced in his book *Itihās Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib (Bhagat Bānī Bhāg)*. He tells us that the manuscript is in many hands; some parts of it are very old and some obviously later, but in no way later than 1692 BK/AD 1635 when a second index of it was prepared. Two notes in it merit our special attention; the first is a piece of writing bearing the inscription, *oamkār sachu nāmu kartār babā nānak* (Plate IX, Figure 7 in *Gāthā*) and the second is a hymn by Kabīr (Plate X in the *Gāthā*). In a note written to me in reply to my query about the contents of the pothī, Giani Gurdit Singh was kind enongh to inform me that the Mūlmantra in that pothī appeared in three different forms (*Gāthā*, p. 115). He has yet to reveal what they are.

THE BAHOWĀL POTHĪ (No.3)

This rare pothī is preserved in the archives of Bhai Vir Singh Sahitya Sadan, Delhi. It bears no date, yet brittleness of its paper and early pattern of its caligraphy help us place it conveniently in the seventeenth century. Some of its prominent features are:

1. The pothī has in it *bānī* pertaining to nineteen rāgas alongwith fourteen vārs entered conjointly as one chunk.

2. The Mūlmantra appears no where in it— not even at the head of the *Japu*. The one place, where it has been implanted by erasing a part of the short mangal, evidentaly, is a later insertion. The *Japu* in it begins straight with the sloka, *adi sach . . . bhi sach*. The *Japu* shows many text-variants from the one that is current at present.

3. The variety of forms of mangal in it presents an interesting study in its transition to the current standard form. We shall refer to them later on . Likewise, it reveals many a footprint that our old scribes have left for us in its pages to help us gauge the stages through which the compilation of bāni had passed . To them we shall refer in Section IV, Conclusions, below.

4. The pothī shows one very important divergence from the current practice. The writer of this *pothī* has not allowed the *so purakhu* hymn of Rāga Asā to intervene in between the first, *so daru* and the second *suni vadā* hymns in Rāga Āsā, as it does in the version that is current at present . This shows a deep consciousness of the format on the part of the compiler.

GRANTH BHĀĪ PAINDĀ SĀHIB (No.4)

1. Available at Delhi after partition of the Punjab in the fifties of this century, this Granth (now not traceable) was virtually a mine of sporadic collections of bāni made in early days. The first custodians of this Granth appeared to be in close touch with the earlier centres of collection and dissemination of bāni. It contained autographs of the Sixth, the Seventh, the Ninth and the Tenth Gurūs .

2. The bāni in it did not conform to the current order of rāgas nor was all the bāni of the respective rāga found entered at one place. It was seen entered in disorderly chuncks which suggested gradual compilation, canonization and dissemination of the Holy Word. It was precisely in this, as also in the antiquity of its texts, that the importance of this Granth lay.

VILAKHAN TE PRACHĪN BĪR (No.5)

This refers to MS 1245 in the library of Gurū Nānak

Dev University. It has been constantly under fire of S. Daljeet Singh of Chandigarh and his supporters. For that reason we shall have to revert to it again in a big way in the discussions to come. For the time being some of its unique features may be listed :

1. It opens with a very artistically illuminated *nishan* or autograph which, on scrutiny, is found to be by Guru Tegh Bahadur.

2. Immediately after it there appears a sloka equally illuminated. It pertains to Guru Amardas[2]. It is in a bold hand by some dignitary of unknown antecedents. It is in the nature of a benedictory autograph. The sellers of the manuscript gave it out as an autograph by Bābā Buddhā, which evidently was a ruse to extract a higher price only.

3. The Mūlmantra in this codex ends every where on *satiguru prasādi* in place of *Gurprasādi*. In this it corresponds to the Goindwāl or Bābā Mohan Pothīs.

4. The *Japu* in it has for its appellation mahalu (ਮਹਲੁ) which reminds of a period when mahalu had not yet given place to mahalā (ਮਹਲਾ). This again is a feature common with Bābā Mohan Pothīs. Again, the *Japu* in it begins straight with the first stanza (*sochai soch. . .*). The sloka, *adi sach. . . bhi sach,* does not figure in it. The reason for this lapse may be sought in the fact that *Japu* too, in its structure, is a *vār*. Dr. Charan Singh, father of Bhai Vir Singh called it "Nirankār dī Vār". Just as in all vārs, slokas were added to them at the time of their compilation, similarly the *Japu* too got one sloka affixed to it in the beginning and another at the end.

5. The text of *Japu* differs markedly from the one that is current at present . It tallies with the text of the *Japu* found in the Bahowāl Pothī and corresponds to the

2.   *gurmukhi prabhu sevaih sadē sāchā, an din sahaji piāri*

    nānak āpi milāisi āpe kirpā dhāri__ Raga Bihagra *Vār* M3., AG, p. 1551.

version of the *Japu* used by Miharbān in his exegesis .
Text-variants abound in a large number, some of which
are very thought-provoking.

6.   In the Kartārpurī Bīr, text of the *Japu* is stated
to have come from one left by Gurū Rāmdās in his own
hand. It evidently suggests the prevalence of another
version beside the one that was finalized by Gurū Rām-
dās. That other version, no doubt, is the one that is
preserved in this as well as in the Bāhowāl Pothī.

7.   The cluster of four hymns that go by the caption
so purakhu as also the five hymns making the sohila are
not available in this codex. Many other codices too do
not have the *so purakhu* cluster of hymns. This suggests
that this group of hymns became a part of the evening
prayer (Rahrāsi) later on .

8.   This codex does not have Bhagat *bānī* except a
few slokas of Kabir that appear to have been inadvert-
ently embedded in vārs. Likewise, it does not have the
bānī of Gurū Tegh Bahādur too. It does not have Vār
written by Rai Balvand and Satta, though "Sad" by
Sunder is there. Of a total of twenty sawayyas (pan-
egyrics) composed by the Fifth Guru, only nine figure
in it . Likewise, of the 122 sawayyas by Bhatts only
thirty-two written by Kalya Bhatt find place in it . Of
the material that goes by the name of Apocrypha and
appears as an appendix in *bīrs* of the Bhāī Banno
recension, only eighteen stanzas pertaining to Ratanmālā
are there; Rāgamālā, Haqīqat Rāh Muqām, etc. are
missing. This suggests that the source from where the
present compiler has had his material, was itself yet in
the making.

9.   The codex contains bānī in thirty rāgas, but their
sequence does not conform to the one standardized later
on . This·fluid state is a feature of all earlier compi-
lations like the Bāhowāl Pothī and Granth Bhāī Paindā

Sāhib, and, therefore, this one too has to be rated as having come from stray compilations based on the oral texts.

10. Index to each rāga has been affixed at its start. The overall index of the codex is missing. The respective indexes of rāgas show great discrepancies . Certain hymns that are listed in the indexes are not to be found in the text and there are yet others that are found in the text, but are missing in the index of the respective rāga. This shows that the indexes to the rāgas were lifted from some other source. This fact is confirmed by the absence of folio numbers in the indexes against their respective entries . They had yet to be worked out.

11. The text of the *so daru* hymn at all the three places— the *Japu*, the *Raharāsi* and Rāga Āsā —is the same. It appears with the vocatives *tere, tudhanūṅ* which do not figure in the text of the *Japu* current at present . It is yet another proof of the texts having come from those in vogue among the people. Besides, *gāvani* (ਗਾਵਨਿ) has been preferred to *gāvahi* (ਗਾਵਹਿ) of the *Japu* text, everywhere.

12. The slokas that have found place in various vārs, are all without mahallās, connotive of authorship. Only the genre whatever it be—Sloka, Dakhṇā, Gāthā or Phunah—has been indicated. This shows the source material to be of a time, when particulars with regard to authorship were not yet insisted upon, or were not yet taken care of. Another fact that needs mention is that the tunes (*dhunīs*)appear in the text only in case of two vārs. Of the rest, five rāgas have their tunes recorded in the index against their respective entries. Tunes of two rāgas(Mājha and Rāmkalī) are missing at both places. This too points out to the fact that the vārs came from the source, in which tunes had not yet found their way, but the indexes were lifted from compilations

where dhunīs had come to be incorporated .

13. Hymns that go with the caption Pahare have vocatives *ve* (ਵੇ) and *re* (ਰੇ) suffixed at the end. They are reminiscent of devices as are often resorted to by laymen for creating rhythms of their liking. Similar interference can be found at a few other places too. This suggests the texts of these hymns to have come from the field or the singers' notebooks.

14. The codex has innumerable text-variants which smack of popular interference and colloquialism—a pointer again to the texts having been collected from versions in vogue amongst the people .

15. A few hymns and a good number of slokas are seen entered at more than one place. The repetition seems to be due to conflicting claims of the rāgas for the respective hymn . This, however, points squarely to the fluid state in which the compiler of this manuscript had to work. He seems to have put in faithfully whatever came his way.

16. The codex has Dates of Demise (*samāvane ke chalitra*) which end with the demise of the Fifth Gurū. Its compilation, therefore, can be placed sometime after AD 1606, say the first decade of the seventeenth century. The autograph of the Ninth Gurū found in it, has nothing to do with the date of its compilation. It was, evidently, obtained and pasted in the bīr later on, for benedictory purposes.

17. The passing of Gurū Amardas has been mentioned in this bīr in unusally euphimistic terms such as have not been used for Gurū Nānak even . This, together with the opening sloka chosen specifically out of the Third Gurū's hymns, suggests that the compiler of this bīr had some special affiliation with Gurū Amardas ' household . Precisely for this reason, he may have succeeded in unearthing fifteen chhants in Rāga Srī

presumed to be by Guru Amardas.

18. The pattern of spellings, shapes of letters and style of writing, all conform to the writings of an earlier period, particularly of Bābā Mohan Pothīs . Its anteriority can be vouchsafed on this ground too.

THE KARTĀRPURĪ BĪR (No.6)

The Kartārpurī Bīr is claimed by its custodians to be the original *Ādi Granth* prepared by Bhāī Gurdās under the direct supervision and direction of Guru Arjun. It is at present with Sodhi Amarjit Singh of Kartarpur (Jalandhar). Being a private property, it is not open to all for inspection. Yet a number of chosen persons have had access to it. They have left behind them their findings in black and white. We have made profuse use of their writings to build our thesis for which we owe them our heartfelt gratitude.

The first and most important of our authorities is Dr . Bhai Jodh Singh, of whose meticulous work, *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan*, we have already apprised our readers. The second is a band of the Tarn Taran Giānīs— Ishar Singh, Narain Singh and Lachhman Singh, who collated a copy of the current *Granth* with the Kartārpurī Bīr in 1924. A few of their findings are recorded in their diary which is at present in our possession. It covers a period of about two and a half months from November 2, 1924 to January 10, 1925. Our third important source is Bhāī Mannā Singh, a renowned *pāthī* of Derā Bābā Shām Singh of Ātā Mandī, Amritsar. A list of over two hundred text-variants of the Kartārpurī Bīr spotted by him is given in Giani Lal Singh of Sangrur's book, *Srī Guru Granth Sāhib de Kathan Pāthān dī Kunjī*. The fourth is Brahmagiani Sant Gurbachan Singh Khālsā, Bhindrānwālā. Results of his collation of the Damdamī

text with the Kartārpurī Bīṛ are given in his book *Gurbānī Pāṭh Darshan*. The fifth is S . Randhir Singh, late research scholar of SGPC. His detailed study is preserved in his unpublished work, "Gursabad Vigās". The last in the list is Harnām Dās Udāsīn who claims to have examined the manuscript at very close quarters and has left his findings in *Purātan Bīṛān te Vichār* (two parts). Frequent references will be made to Daljeet Singh's work *Authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ* too, for it is a faithful and elaborate account of the findings of Bhai Jodh Singh and he is its chief protagonist too. Our attempt here will be to detail here a few bare facts of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ only. Full scale discussion will be taken in hand later on, in the "Main Issues" section of the book.

1. The Granth has according to Bhai Jodh Singh a new margin affixed to it on all the four sides and is mended at numerous places.

2. Folio numbers appear on the left hand side of the opened Granth.

3. Folio numbers noted in the contents tables, in some cases, differ from what they actually carry in the text proper .

4. The manuscript has a large number of blank pages in between the inscribed ones.

5. All the folio-pages in the Granth, whether blank or inscribed, bear folio-numbers, which fact shows that numbering was done in advance, i.e., before the hymns, began to be entered in it.

6. Just below certain sub-heads of the musical modes Gaurī and Āsā, there appear figures known in Sikh circles as 'the hanging figures'. They are a peculiar featu of this recension only.

7. .he manuscript has three tatkarās (indexes)—one is known as *sūchī-patra* (contents of the Granth), the

other is *sabad-tatkarā* (the index of the hymns rāga-wise)
and the third is *tatkarā tatkare*. This last one is the index
of the *sabad-tatkarā* part of the Granth. It shows where
respective rāgas figure in the sabad-tatkarā.

8. The *sūchī-patra* lists the presence of two auto-
graphs in the Granth; one is said to be by the Fifth
Master and the other is claimed to be by the Sixth Gurū.

9. The Bīr has a few extra-canonical documents
pasted in it, for example, a recipe for converting mer-
cury into ash (*kushtā, bhasam*) to make it serve as
panacea for several diseases.

10. There are numerous discrepancies in the listing
of hymns in the tatkarās and their corresponding texts
in the Scripture.

11. At the close of certain vārs the word *sudhu* or
sudhu keechai appears as the case be.

12. The vārs have tunes (*dhunīs*) indicated on them .

13. The Bīr abounds in numerous cuttings, deletions,
additions and corrections . Corrections at certain places
have been made by erasing the previous matter with
hartāl, the yellow paste, whereas many deletions have
been effected by penning through the unwanted text .

14. It has only Rāgamālā at the end . No other
apocryphal matter mentioned in the contents' page is
available. This discrepancy needs probing.

15. Five to six hands can be discerned at work in
the Bīr. They have to be accounted for, since the claim
is that the Granth is solely in the hand of Bhāī Gurdās .

THE BHĀĪ BANNO BĪR (No.11)

Lodged in Gurdwārā Bhāī Banno Sāhib at Kānpur,
it is believed by its custodians to be the first copy of
the original Ādi Bīr that is associated with the name
of Gurū Arjun. It represents what is now known as the
Bhāī Banno recension with its extra canonical hymns

and apocrypha detailed on page 33-34, below. It bears
the tampered sammat 1659 as the date of its completion,
which actually was sammat 1699 (AD 1642), figure nine
of the original date having been tampered with to make
it read five (5).

The manuscript has a *nishān* (an autograph by the
Guru) in its opening pages . It is presumed to be in
the hand of the Sixth Guru, but actually it proves to
be by the Ninth Master, Gurū Teg̱ẖ Bahādur . Like the
Kartārpurī Bīṛ it has yet another *nishān* in the body of
the Granth . It is said to be by the Fifth Gurū. This does
not resemble the one found in the Kartārpurī Bīṛ. Eight
vārs have their tunes entered simultaneously with the
text; only one tune pertaining to Rāga Mājh is found
to have been entered later on.

THE SARANKE GRANTH (No. 20)

Completed in 1728 BK/AD 1671, this Granth is known
for its generally correct text . At present it is preserved
in the GNDU Library. Traversing "Sloka Vārān te
Vadhīk", it ends on the Mundāvaṇī. Sloka *terā kītā jāto
nāhī* finds its place in Gurū Arjun's slokas . This
manuscript has a few other extraordinary features, to
wit : (1) The *sabad tatkarā* in it covers hymns of Bhagats
too; (2) The *bānī* in it, at all places, begins with the
short *mangal* (੧ਓਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ); At no place, except two which
are evidently later insertions, the Mūlmantra does not
figure in it; (3) *Vār* Rāga Mārū of Mahallā 3 is entered
in Rāga Kedārā and not in Mārū; (4) The *rahāo* indicating
line is not marked at the end with figure 1 as is seen
in the current bīṛs; (5) At serveral places words *rahāo*
and 'raṃv as well as 'haumain' appear without the
specific vowel sign (*aunkaṛ*) i.e. as ਰਹਾਓ, ਪਉੜੀ,ਹਉਮੈ etc. (6)
(6) Originally the vocative rhymes in bānī entitled
pahaṛā, read as *mitrā* and *piāria mitrā*. In this respect it

conformed to readings in MS 1245 (No. 5 in *Gatha*). Later on, they were changed to *mitra piāria* and *mitra piāria jīo* to make them conform to their current version. These corrections appear to have been made recently for they are in a known hand—that of late Giānī Kundan Singh of Malsīāṅ, one of the compilers of *Srī Gurū Granth Sahib dīāṅ santha sainchīāṅ ate Puratan Hath likhit Pāvan Birāṅ de Parspar Pāth-bhedāṅ dī Sūchi* published by the SGPC itelf.   (7) Likewise, the text of *so daru* both in the *Japu* and the *Rahrāsi* was the same, i.e., without the vocatives *tere* and *tudhno*, which now stand incorporated again in Kundan Singh's hand; (8) The missing lines (*āpe dei vadiāīāṅ. . .*) of stanza *xxix* of vār Rāga Sorathi are available in it; (9) A few other lines pertaining to Kabir's hymn in Rāga Ramkalī are also traceable; (10) Sloka Sahaskriti already accommodated in *vārs* have not been repeated in the concluding part of the Granth. This bīr is, thus, as helpful as Mohan Pothīs or MS 1245 or the Bāhowāl Pothī or Granth Bhāī Paindā Sāhib in reconstructing the story of the coming up of the Sikh Holy Scripture.

For details of the rest of the thirtysix codices covered by this writer in his survey, the reader may please refer to *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth*, itself.

SECTION IV

CONCLUSIONS

This section of the *Gāthā* delineates many a new fact that the enquiry had thrown up. Only a few, most important of them, are intended to be reproduced here, briefly. The interested reader may revert to the original book for further details.

1. CANONIZATION OF BĀNĪ

Kesar Singh Chhibbar holds that the work on the canonization of the Holy Word started in 1657 BK/AD 1600 and was completed in 1658 BK/AD 1601. At least one of these two dates appears to be doubtful, for so huge a task, as the compilation of the *Ādi Granth* was, could not have been completed in so short a period . Yet, if it be taken as true, Miharbān (b. AD 1581) was in AD 1600, hardly nineteen years old . It defies comprehension that he should have, by then, composed hymns and thereby should have attracted action as reported by Chhibbar. In this light the other view that the canonization of bānī was taken in hand to provide the newly arisen community a holy book of its own to serve it as its mainstay, sounds more plausible.

As regards the compilation of bānī, Harnam Das Udasin's and Sahib Singh's view that bānī passed on from Gurū to Gurū in succession, does not stand the test of scrutiny. Bānī, as we find it compiled and codexed in earlier bīrs, does not show any one to one

correspondence in their texts, nor in their format . Text-variants abound, and recensions differ materially. This could not have happened, had the bānī been passed on in succession. The utmost claim that we find often put up in earlier bīṛs, is that the text of the *Japu* in their respective codices has come from the one copied by Gurū Rāmdās. No writer has, at any stage, come forth with the claim that the *Japu* in his manuscript is from a notebook left by Gurū Nānak. There is, thus, no denying the fact that bānī was collected from all sources, written or oral, corporate or individual .

2. POPULAR RECENSIONS

The tradition recognizes three main recensions : Bhāī Gurdās' (now erroneously identified with the Kartārpurī Bīṛ), Bhāī Banno's and the Damdamī. Important features of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ that claims to be the original *Ādi Granth* are : (1) It was completed in 1661 BK/AD 1604 at the hands of Bhāī Gurdās under the direct supervision of the Fifth Gurū; (2) Text of *Japu* in it comes from the one inscribed by Gurū Rāmdās; (3) *Rahrāsi* in it consists of only five hymns pertaining to the *so daru* group; (4) Gurū Tegh Bahādur's bānī does not figure in it; (5) Covering *Ādi Granth's* last section "Sloka Vārān te Vadhik", it ends on Mundāvanī-cum-sloka, *tērā kītā jātō nāhī*; (6) It has, at present, except the Rāgamālā, no other apocrypha at its end, as the Banno recension has.

The Bhāī Banno recension, it is claimed, partakes the character of Bhāī Gurdās' recension. It, however, has many more hymns entered in it as listed below:

1. A hymn by Kabir in Rāga Sorathi that reads: *audhū so jogī guru merā*. . .
2. The disputed Chhant by Gurū Arjun in Rāga Rāmkalī which runs: *raṇ jhunjhanṛā gāo sakhī*. . .
3. Mīrā Bāī's pada, *man hamarā bāndhio māī*, in Rāga

Mārū.

4. Sūrdas' pada, *chhādi man hari bemukhan kau sang.*

5. Apocrypha current in the name of Gurū Nanak; to wit—

   (a) *jit dar lakh mohammadā;*
       es kalio [n] panj bhīīon;
       dist na rahiā nānakā (three stanzas);

   (b) *bāi ātish āb* (sixteen slokas);

   (c) Ratanmālā (twenty-five stanzas);

6. Haqīqat Rāh Muqām Rajeh Shivnābhi Kī;

7. Siāhī Kī Bidhi.

The Damdamī recension has the following distinctive features : (i) It has in it the *so purakhu* cluster of four hymns that now forms the supplementary part of the original *Rahrāsi;* (ii) The bānī of the Ninth Gurū figures in it at all of its respective places; (iii) it does not have the apocrypha that is peculiar to the Bhāī Banno recension, except the Rāgamālā.

It is named "Damdamī", for according to the tradition the Ninth Master's bānī was entered in the then prevailing Granth to make the Holy Scripture complete, at a place called Damdamā Sāhib which, at present, is identified by some, with a place at Anandpur Sahib and by others with Talwandi Sābo.

It is this recension which is said to have been conferred the status of the "Sabad-Guru" by the Tenth Master at the time he quit this world for his heavenly abode, thereby closing the line of personal Gurus for good.

3. VESTIGIAL FOOTPRINTS

Not much is known about the earlier pothīs and compilations that were available to Gurū Arjun and Bhāī Gurdās . The tradition mentions Bābā Mohan Pothīs

only. Yet, it cannot be denied that there definitely were many more collections and *sporadic compilations,* vestigial footprints of which may be, more or less, discerned in all earlier bīṛs. Their presence throws a flood of light on the proclivities—preferences, insights and modalities of the earlier compilers. Our intensive study of Bābā Mohan Pothīs, Gurū Hari Sahāi Pothī, Bāhowāl Pothī, MS 1245 (GNDU), Granth Bhāi Paindā Sāhib and the Sāranke Granth reveals :

(1) In the initial stage of compilation, to indicate Gurū, the substantive *mahal* (ਮਹਲ) or mahalu (ਮਹਲੁ) was used; the current substantive mahallā/mahilā came to be used later on . This is confirmed by the former's ubiquitous presence in Bābā Mohan Pothīs, Bāhowāl Pothī, with *Japu* of MS 1245 and even at half a dozen places in the Kartārpurī Bīr. Further testimony of its use is provided by Zulfiqār Ardistānī (Mohsin Fānī) in his book *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib.* He had the good luck to be in the company of Gurū Harigobind and Gurū Hari Rāi for some time. He vouchsafes that Sikhs call their Gurūs Mahal I, Mahal II, Mahal III and so on.

(2) In earlier compilations of the Holy Word various forms of mangals (invocatory formulas) are seen usèd. The Bāhowāl Pothī is very rich in this respect. We come across the following forms in it:

Om Gurū sati	(ੳ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ)
1 *Gurū sati*	(੧ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ)
1 *Oamkār Gurū sati*	(੧ੳ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ)
Satigurū parsādi	(ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ)
1 *Satigurū prasādi*	(੧ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ)
1 *Sirī Satigurū prasādi*	(੧ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ)
1 *Oamkār Satgurū parisādi*	(੧ੳ ਸਤਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਿਸਾਦਿ)

These are, evidently, not fads of one person, but proclivities of different compilers which have faithfully been reproduced by the copyist in the Bāhowāl Pothī

from where-so-ever he had got them. It appears that after wavering for sometime the mangal, at last, settled at *ek oamkār satigur prasādi* which is current now.

(b) The form of Mūlmantra in Bābā Mohan Pothīs seems to unfold a similar story. The Mūlmantra in it shows the following divergences from the one current at present:

I	II
Mohan Pothīs	Current form
sachu nāmu (ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ)	*sati-nāmu* (ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ)
kartāru (ਕਰਤਾਰੁ)	*kartā purakhu* (ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ)
nirīkār (ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰ)	*nirvairu* (ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ)
sambhau (ਸੰਭਉ)	*saibhang* (ਸੈਭੰ)

How and when the changes mentioned above took place, cannot be explained with any amount of certainty. Circumstantial evidence shows that a few forms listed above under the head "Mohan Pothīs" were, indeed, current in the time of Gurū Nānak. It can, therefore, be surmised that latter forms, that of column (II) were fixed up, probably, by Gurū Arjun. In fixing *sati* (Skt. *satya*) for the colloquial *sachu*, he seems to have shown his preference for a form in vogue in the metaphysical jargon . Replacement of *kartār* with *kartā purakhu* appears to have been prompted by the same consideration. Yet another consideration may have been to leave no scope for ambiguity. By adding *purakhu* with *kartā* which is a Sanskrit word from the same root, *krī*, the Gurū has sought to dispel the idea that *prakriti* has any thing to do with creation. The phrase, thus, has come to stand for 'The Sole Creator'.

The change of *nirīkār* to *nirvair* was envisaged to have been prompted by the desire to highlight the *sans*-enmity trait of God . The earlier form of the Mūlmantra had, negatively expressed, five traits of Him; *nirbhau* (*sans* fear), *nirīkār* (formless), *akāl* (Timeless), (a) *mūrti* (form-

less) and *ajūnī* (un-incarnate). Since *nirīkār* seemed to have been covered by (a) *mūrti* (conjointly with *akāl*) a much needed trait, *nirvair* (sans- enmity) was substituted in place of *nirīkār*. The idea was to stress that, unlike the God of the Semitic faiths who along with other kindly traits is often depicted as revengeful (*qahhār*) and oppressor (*Jabbār*), the God of the Sikh conception is sweet, loving and kind . Secondly, this trait was intended to be an ideal of conduct for every Sikh to practise. In his dealings with others he was not only to be fearless (*nirbhau*)but *sans*-enmity (*nirvair*) also.

The change of *sambhau* to *saibhang* is to be considered as a change in linguistic expression only, for both the terms connote one and the same thing, i.e. the self-existent trait of God . All these changes, it must be noted, are elucidatory in character and not of any material change in the concept .

3. Take the case of Heads and Sub-heads. In earlier compilations made by less sophisticated writers, Sri Rāga is found to have been recorded as Rāgu Sirī Rāgu (ਰਾਗੁ ਸਿਰੀ ਰਾਗੁ). A few of them have it transcribed as ਸ੍ਰੀ too. It was only much later that its sophisticated form "Sri Rāga" began to be used. Where-so-ever the earlier forms siri and ਸ੍ਰੀ are seen that piece is to be considered as having come from an earlier source. Likewise, in some manuscripts the nomenclature Bhairau (ਭੈਰਉ) is seen occurring in a slightly changed form, Bhairo (ਭੈਰੋ). Traces of this earlier use may be seen in the Ahiyāpur Pothī (Mohan or Goindwal tradition) and Granth Derā Rām Kishan, Patiala (listed at No. 12 in the *Gāthā*).

(b) In the Ahiyāpur Pothī of the Goindwāl tradition headings on Gurū Nānak's *bānī* appear as under :

Rāgu Sūhbī Gurū Bābe dī   (ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹਬੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ)

Rāgu Sūhī Chhand Bābe ke   (ਰਾਗੁ ਸੂਹੀ ਛੰਦ ਬਾਬੇ ਕੇ)

Rāgū Parbhātī Bābe dī   (ਰਾਗੁ ਪਰਭਾਤੀ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ)

Rāgu Basant Bābe Patsāh dā   (ਰਾਗੁ ਬਸੰਤ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਸਾਹ ਦਾ)
Tilaṅg Bābe Patsāh kā Bolnā   (ਤਿਲੰਗ ਬਾਬੇ ਪਾਤਸਾਹ ਕਾ
                                                        ਬੋਲਨਾ)

These represent earlier forms of headings used to
indicate Gurū Nānak's *bānī*. This gave place to the use
of Mahal 1 found used in the Ahiyāpur Pothī at two
places in Rāga Dhanāsari only. The *bānī* of Gurū Amar-
das is listed everywhere under the head Mahalu 3. For
succeeding sub-heads in the same rāga, the authorship
is not repeated; only the name of rāga is given. This
was the earlier practice. Authors began to be indicated
in section-heads later.

(c) Earlier pothīs reveal that earlier compilers pre-
ferred to give, in captions, the first place to the name
the *bānī* had become familiar with, the second to the
rāga and the third to the author. This was, evidently,
due to the popularity, the respective *bānī* commanded.
Later compilers, however, preferred to relegate the name
of the *bānī* to the third place, i.e. after *rāga* and the
author. The intention was clearly to maintain uniformity
in noting of bānīs that had been allotted any particular
name. Here are a few captions illustrative of the point:

Earlier Form	Later Form
So daru Rāgu Āsā Mahallā 1	Rāgu Āsā Mahallā 1 *So daru*
Sohilā Rāgu Gaurī Dīpakī	Rāgu Gaurī Dīpakī Mahallā 1
Mahallā 1	Sohila
Bārā Māha Mājh Mahallā 5	Rāgu Mājh Bārā Māha
	Mahallā 5
Thiti Gaurī Mahallā 5	Rāgu Gaurī Thiti Mahallā 5

4. In earlier compilations of bānī, chunks of hymns
pertaining to a particular rāga are often found entered
without the mahallā with the name of their specific rāga
only. As instance may be quoted chaupadas of Rāga
Devagandhārī which, in many manuscripts, have had
mahallās entered on them later on. Such a chunk,

wherever seen, is to be taken as a vestige of an earlier compilation.

5. An enquiry into the style of noting totals at the end of the rāga too provides some interesting details . The Bāhowāl Pothī has in one rāga totals of its chaupadas reckoned into chhakās (sixes). After a group of every six hymns the total is indicated as *chhakkā* 1, *chhakā* 2, *chhakā* 3 and so on . Remnants of this earlier form of making up totals may still be seen in a few earlier manuscripts . Even the Kartārpurī Bīṛ has vestiges of this earlier pattern, which shows its compiler's indebtedness to the earlier pioneers .

The progressive totals have also their own story to tell . In earlier compilations, progressive totals in case of some rāgas are seen carried for each genre to the end of the Fifth Gurū's *bāṇī.* In some the progressive totals have not been carried on beyond the particular Gurū and the genre. In some bīṛs, particularly of Bhāī Banno recension, the progressive totals are given at the end of each rāga, split up Gurū and genre-wise. Lack of uniformity and consistency in more than one pattern in a manuscript, is to be attributed to different sources from where the matter has come.

(b) The compilation of vārs, it appears, took place separately and thereafter they were assigned to their respective rāgas. This is proved by chunks of a good number of vārs appearing together in certain *codices* and the Bāhowāl Pothī. Dhunīs (tunes) on them were added in course of time and bit by bit. Presence of vārs without dhunīs in some or all, is a pointer in that direction . Slokas too were assigned to the vārs later on . Those which could not be assigned were placed at the end of the bīṛ. Absence of mahallās on slokas embedded in vars, is another earlier phenomenon.

Mahallās were added to them later on. Thus where-

ever a var with slokas without mahallās appears, it is to be reckoned as having come from an earlier source.

6. Colloquial forms of certain vocables instead of their sophisticated forms, is another characteristic of early compilations . This is so because people, wittingly or unwittingly, tend to use the form they are familiar with . Here are a few words noted and accorded recognition by earlier compilers :

> *aṁbrit (amrit), sambrath (saṁrath),*
> *būde (dūbe), sipti (sifti), saisār (saṁsār)*
> *kamīr (kabīr), vājhon (bājhon), bakshīsh (bakhshīsh)*

7. The earlier compilations did not use the sign (ˮkanaurā). Instead they preferred to use (ਅਉ) (au), so that ਕੌਣ was written as ਕਉਣ or as ਕਵਣ; ਪੌਣ as ਪਉਣ or ਪਵਣ, and so on . Two other most important formations in respect of vowels ˮ and ˉ were:

ਮੁਹਉੂ for ਮੁਹੋ; ਜੀਭਉੂ for ਜੀਭੋ,

and—

ਕਰਹਿ for ਕਰੋ; ਆਖਹਿ for ਆਖੋ

8. Certain earlier compilers of the bānī, on the pattern of the Devanagari orthography, wrote /ਉ/ without its respective vowel sign(_, auṅkar). The Sāranke Granth listed in our survey at No. 20 has this feature at places . Even the Kartārpurī Bīṛ betrays this characteristic at places as vouchsafed by the Tarn Taran group of researchers. Another bīṛ that may be cited is dated 1797 BK/AD 1740. This is in the ken of S . Joginder Singh Talwāṛā. It too has ਉ without the auṅkar sign (_) at many places.

9. In earlier compilations a tendency is seen not to use figure /੧/ before rahāo, the refrain. It came to be used later on. Absence of figure /੧/ before rahāo is a marked characteristic of those parts of the Bāhowāl

Pothī which are anterior to the other parts . Gurū Hari Sahāi Pothī (No. 2) also falls in this category, for it does not have figure /੧/ before rahāo. Sāranke Granth (No. 20) and the Amolak Bīṛ (No. 9) are two other manuscripts galore with this characteristic. Anyway, absence or presence of figure /੧/ before rahāo is indicative of the sources from which the text has come. It helps decide whether the source is earlier or later .

10. Vestigial footprints are discernible in the shape of letters and the style of writing too. The earlier shape of letters in our book is represented by Bābā Mohan Pothīs, Gurū Hari Sahāi Pothī, Bāhowāl Pothī and MS 1245 (GNDU). A pothī or Granth with shapes akin to letters in these pothīs may have a claim to this factor in determining the anteriority of a manuscript . We shall revert to this feature in our discussion on the anteriority of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ again

11) The Dates of Demise (*chalitra jotī joti samāvan ke*) also help ascertain the anteriority of a codex. These sometimes help one to know the source from where the dates have come. Yet this source has to be tapped with utmost care, for the death dates' chart might not have come from the source whence the text had been picked up.

4. EARLIER EDITIORIAL PATTERNS

(i) In the beginning various forms of mangals (reproduced by us on page 35 above) were used for invocation . Later on, it settled at *ek oamkār satigur prasādi*. The Mūlmantra representing the creedal statement of the faith figured at the head of major segments of the Granth only. Some compilers considered Mūlmantra to be a chapter by itself. They, accordingly, preferred to place it once, in the beginning of the Granth only. As

representatives of this type of compilations the Bāhowāl Pothī, the Sāraṇke Granth, Mān Singh Nirankārī Bīṛ and the Amolak Bīṛ of Punjabi University, Patiala, listed in our book, *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth* at serial Nos. 3, 20, 31 and 39 respectively, may be cited .

(ii) Some compilers, it appears, preferred to record, *bāṇī* as it was current among the people in their time, whereas others lived to reproduce it without the trappings it had gathered during its use in the field . By way of illustration, the Fifth Guru's hymn, *mera man loche gurdarshan tāiṅ*, in Rāga Mājh is seen entered in the *text* current at present, with the refrain, *hauṅ gholī hauṅ gholī ghumāī gur sajjan mīt murāre jīo*, repeated at the end of all the four stanzas, with variations that may have crept in, but the compiler of the Bāhowāl Pothī has preferred to show it only with the first stanza marked rahāo, "refrain ". This is in accord with the literary practice or style. The word rahāo placed at the end of a line is a sort of direction to the singer to repeat the said verse again and again by way of refrain. The text as entered in the Holy Scripture seems to represent the form it assumed in the act of kirtan; conversely the compiler of the Bāhowāl Pothī thought it advisable to report it in the literary style.

Another example to illustrate the point is that of the hymn *so daru*. It appears in the Holy Granth at three places: in the *Japu*, the *Rahrasi* and Rāga Āsā. Whereas the text in the *Japu* is free from vocatives *tere* and *tudhno*, the texts in the *Rahrāsi* and Rāga Āsā have them in full measure as per, apparently, the style of the minstrels with which they had come to be sung . If the text in the *Japu* claimed to represent the one transcribed by Guru Rāmdās, is to be taken as the original, the text with the additions of the vocatives *tere* and *tudhno*, will then have to be taken as shaped to meet the needs of

the minstrels. Indeed, there is no other way to explain the discrepancies in the text of the same *bāni* at three different places in the same Granth . As against *so daru's* current *sans-tere* and *sans-tudhno* texts in the *Japu* and with the vocatives *tere* and *tudhno* in the *Rahrāsi* and Rāga Āsā, the compiler of MS 1245 (GNDU) has preferred to have the same text with the said vocatives at all the three places mentioned above. Evidently, this was due to the compiler's depending for his text on collections in use in the congregations for purposes of kirtan. He did not have access to the text that is without vocatives and is claimed to have come from the notebook of Gurū Rāmdās.

The hymn *Pahare Mahalla I, Ghar I*, of the musical mode Srī in MS 1245 (GNDU) had *ve* (ਵੇ) added to it after each line as vocative, apparently, in pursuance of the style in which it was sung. This is so because */ve/* does not appear in the standardized current text . Another similar instance peculiar to this very manuscript (No. 1245) is the addition of */re/* (ਰੇ) after each line of the chaupada *harnī hovāṅ ban basāṅ kaṅd mūl chuṇ khāoṅ*.

Chhant 2 of Mahalla 5 in the musical mode Srī has the vocative *man piāriā jio mitrā* (at places *ji* instead of *jio*) repeated as its refrain. This is the standardized form current at present. As against this, MS 1245 has only *man piāriā mitrā; jiō* is omitted. The Sāranke Granth (1728 BK/AD 1671) listed in our survey at No. 20 too has *man piāriā mitrā* only. How to explain this anomaly? Evidently, by assuming that either the compiler of MS 1245 dropped *jio/jī* (if it was part of the original vocative) to obtain greater flow at the time of singing; or else *jio/jī* came to be added later on in response to people's wish to show utmost reverence for the person addressed. At any rate, it is a pointer to folk's interference, this way or that way.

(iii) Earlier compilations represented by Mohan Pothīs, Gurū Hari Sahāi Pothī, Bāhowāl Pothī, Granth Bhāi Paindā Sahib and MS 1245 (Vilakhan te Prachīn Bīr), Nos. 1 to 5 in the *Gāthā*, have ragas entered in them in a random order. This reflects a situation when *bānī* set in isolated rāgas circulated among the Sikhs at different community centres. The more enthusiasts copied them in their notebooks. This variance in the order of rāgas, it appears, persisted long after the standardised form had come into existence. This situation is reflected in Jograj's Granth (1724 BK/AD 1677) listed at No. 19 in our book (*Gāthā*). In the Ahiyāpur Pothī of Bābā Mohan tradition the *bānī* relating to Rāga Mārū was entered under the caption Rāga Kedārā. Its compiler later on changed Kedārā into Mārū. Probably there was not much difference in the two musical modes . In the version current at present "Vār Mohallā 3" of Rāga Mārū, the sloka preceding stanza I of the Vār seems to relate it categorically to Rāga Kedārā. The compiler of the Sāranke Granth (1728 BK/AD 1671) listed at No. 20 in the *Gāthā*, has preferred to keep it in Rāga Kedārā, whereas that of the Lahore Bīr has put it under the joint caption "Vār Kedārā Mārū ". For this very reason the editor of the Jograj Granth, mentioned above, has had Rāgas Mārū and Kedārā entered consecutively. He had not allowed Rāga Tukhārī to intervene between the two.

(iv) In the initial stage of compilation of the *bānī* the classification of rāgas used for categorizing them was not subtle. Only the main rāga was stated . In the Ahiyāpur Pothī, as also in Vilakhan te Prachīn Bīr (MS 1245) the hymns have simply Basant and Parbhāti as their captions . Dr. Mān Singh Nirankāri's Bīr, No 31 in the *Gāthā*, has only Basant recorded over its hymns. Its further categorization as Hindol came later on. Likewise, Bibhās as a further shade of Parbhāti came

to be added later on. The Kartārpurī Bīṛ had, at first, Parbhātī only; Bibhās was added to it later on by way of emendation. Rāga Gaurī had its subtlest classification into Guārerī, Pūrbī, Chetī, Mālwā, Mājh and their various combinations in the Amolak Bīṛ (No. 39, *Gāthā*). Later on this was annulled by expurgating extra subdivisions with dotted lines (see plate xxxvi, *Gāthā*) to make it conform to the version that had come to be taken as authentic, may be the Kartārpurī recension . The fact we intend to drive home is that copyists continued to go in for subtler classification even after the original bīṛ had come into existence.

(v) Though ghars had been taken care of in listing hymns ever since the first systematic compilation was taken in hand; their indication, however, came to be given somewhat later. Bābā Mohan Pothīs and the Bāhowāl Pothī are instances of compilations where ghars have not been detailed .

(vi) The order intended to be maintained in case of the poetic genres was chaupadas, astpadis, chhants, longer poem (if any) and the vārs. Wherever a deviation occurs, that is to be ascribed to the ignorance of the compiler or the copyist or to its having come within his reach, for inclusion in his codex, somewhat late.

(vii) While entering the *bānī* in the Holy Scripture the Gurūs were assigned place in their historical order whereas the Bhagats were given place according to their prominence in the Sikh circle. The Gurūs had, always, the first place; the second went to the Bhagats and the third to the other bards, subject of course to the maintenance of the position of genres intact. Strangely, the compiler of 'Bābā Mohan Pothīs regarded Kabir and Nāmā (Namdev) to be the devotees of Guru Nānak (*kabīr nāmā bābe de bhagat*).

(viii) In earlier compilations each hymn had the rāga

mentioned on it invariably, though indication of mahallā on it was not insisted upon . Later compilations invariably went with the rāga and the mahallā, both, in the caption . Likewise, mangals which were in scant use earlier too began to be given on each and every subsection later on . Many earlier manuscripts can be cited wherein hymns in Rāgas Devagandhārī and Kānarā have had their mahallās entered later on.

(ix) As has already been stated above, formerly totals were indicated in chhakkās (sixes), traces of which may still be found in Rāgas Sri, Mājh, Gaurī, Devagandhārī, Basant, Kānarā and Kalyān of the current Granth . Later on, figures took their place. Accounts of totals (*jumlās*) of the hymns—author and genre-wise—also came to be recorded at the completion of each rāga, later on.

(x) Indexes (*tatkarās*) were often lifted from other manuscripts and used for the new ones in the making.

(xi) In some of the earlier manuscripts blank leaves do appear in numbers substantial or nominal . This is not an exclusive characteristic of the Kartārpurī Bīr as is claimed by its protagonists .

5. THE PROGRESS OF THE EDITORIAL ACTIVITY

From the account given above as also from the earlier section on vestigial footprints and varied recensions prepared later on, it can safely be concluded that the activity pertaining to the compilation of the Holy Word began at quite an early date and went on even after the reported canonization of Gurbānī by the Fifth Master; otherwise, we would not have witnessed the plethora of different recensions in the years that followed. Secondly, the appearance of some common characteristics in bīrs of altogether different recensions vouchsafes that

the copyists had not very often any particular bīṟ before them. They had only stray collections of rāgas from which they prepared their own copies. As evidence may be cited three bīṟs which have hanging figures in them yet they belong to different recensions. The first is the Kartārpurī Bīṟ which ends at Mundāvanī accompanied by its associate sloka, *terā kītā jāto nāhī* and has Rāgamālā at its end too. The second is the manuscript dated 1749 BK/AD 1692 preserved in the Museum of the Punjabi University at Patiala . It closes on Sawayyas of Bhatts and does not have Rāgamālā. The third is a manuscript dated 1799 BK/AD 1742 now in possession of the Kendrī Singh Sabhā at Chandigarh. It ends on Mundāwanī and has no Rāgamālā at its end. Likewise, manuscripts exist in which some vārs have *sudhu* or *sudhu keechai* after them, while the rest of the vārs in them are without any such mark.

6. VERSIONS RECLASSIFIED

As against the traditional three recensions, the Kartārpurī (claimed to be Bhāī Gurdas'), Bhāī Banno's and the Damdamī, a new classification consistent with the contents and formats of the available manuscripts may be suggested as under:

(i) The Pothī Likhi Pahunche Recension. It takes off with the note *pothī likhi pahunche* inscribed at the very outset of the sūchī-patra (contents' page of the manuscript). The *Japu* in this recension is claimed to be a copy of the one prepared by Gurū Ramdas and the *bīṟ* has "Sloka Vārān te Vadhīk" at the end, followed by Mundāvanī and the sloka, *terā kītā jāto nāhīṅ.*

This main recension has two sub-divisions represented by (a) the Kartārpurī Bīṟ and (b) the Bhāī Banno Bīṟ . The latter has, apart from the features detailed

above, Mīrā's hymn, the chhant, *raṇ jhunjhanṛā* and the apocryha beginning with *jit dar lakh mohammadā* to *siāhī kī bidhi* (detailed at page 33-34 above) in it. Its totals usually take the form of *jumlās* split into details— author and genre-wise. Some of the copies of this recension do not have the *so purakhu* group of hymns. Bīrs bearing Nos. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 30, 32, 34, 37 and 38 listed in our book *Gāthā* fall in the first group and those bearing Nos. 10, 11, 12, 17, 27, 33, 36, 40 and 41 in the second, i.e., the *so purakhu* category.

The former, the Kartārpurī recension, too does not have the *so purakhu* group of hymns. Mīrā's hymn (deleted in the Kartārpurī Bīr), the hymn, *raṇ jhunjhanṛā* (except the first two lines) and the apocrypha peculiar to the Bhāī Banno Bīr (except the Rāgamālā) also do not figure in it . The *jumlā* pattern of the Banno recension is seen in it in a primordial form.

(ii) The second important recension is that which closes on Sawayyas by Bhatts . It does not partake of any feature that is peculiar to the Pothī Likhi Pahunche recension . For that reason, this recension is to be taken as an independent exercise in compilation . Its promoter seems to have followed "first Gurūs, then bhagats and then others " principle in deciding the sequence of the closing section of the Granth too. For that reason Sawayyas of Bhatts have been placed at the end as an addendum. Bīrs listed at Nos. 10, 15, 16, 28, 29, 35 and 43 in the *Gāthā* belong to this category.

(iii) The third recension is akin to recension No. 2 detailed above . The only difference is that it ends on slokas of Sheikh Farīd instead of Sawayyas by Bhatts which find a place before the slokas of Kabir and Farid . This recension is represented by bīrs listed at Nos . 8, 18, 19 and 31 in the *Gāthā*.

(iv) The fourth recension is represented by bīrs.

listed at Nos. 20, 31 and 39 in the *Gāthā*. They have the creedal statement (Mūlmantra) at the start of the book only. All susbsequent places are adorned by the short mangal, *ek oamkār satiguru prasād.*

(v) There is yet another recension . In it the index to each rāga is placed at its opening. Bīrs No. 5, 31 and 39 in the *Gāthā* come under this category.

(vi) Another recension is that in which Bhagat *bānī* does not figure. Bir No. 5 (Vilakhan te Prāchīn) and another in possession of late Rājā Gulāb Singh Sethī of 47 Hanuman Road, New Delhi, fall in this category.

(vii) Yet another recension may be discerned—the one that has a marked tinge of folk pronunciation in it .

7. SUB-HEAD PATTERNS

In Section IV, para 3(c) above, something has been said about the pattern that was earlier followed in assigning heads to different sections of the *bānī*. As the editorial process advanced, it was, at last, standardized at *rāga* first, then mahallā, then the genre and last the ghar. Unconscious lapses in the order set, however, continued .

8. THE KARTĀRPURĪ BĪR

The Kartārpurī Bīr has seven vestigial footprints of the eleven types recounted by us on pages above. They are : (1) The appearance of the earlier appellation, mahal, in place of the later form mahallā at several places; (2) the slokas embedded in the vārs, at first, had no mahallas entered on them; they were inserted later on by way of emendation; (3) several of its rāgas still have the short mangal, where according to the pattern set later on, the Mūlmantra should have appeared; (4) at a number of places the totals are found indicated in chhakās; (5) at places chunks of hymns appear without the needed mangal and even the specific

mahallā ; (6)the vowel /u/(ੁ) is met, at a number of
places, without its specific sign, the auṅkar ; (7) certain
words betray corrupted pronunciation . All these point
to different sources from where its compiler appears to
have drawn his material . Various other factors, upon
which we shall dwell at length in the section entitled
"Main Issues", lead us but to one conclusion that the
Kartārpurī Bīṛ is not the original bīṛ got prepared by
the Fifth Gurū. It is rather an independent compilation
that was at some stage given the semblance of the
original bīṛ by casting it, as far as possible, into the
mould of the original.

9. THE ORIGINAL ĀDI BĪṚ

Some idea may be had of the original Ādi Bīṛ
prepared by Bhāī Gurdās at behest of Gurū Arjun Dev
from the various clues that have come our way. First,
Mīrā's hymn *man hamārā bāṅdhio. . .* did not figure in
it ; Ravidās' hymn *sukh sāgar surtari chintā manī* formed
part of Rāga Māru ; the Fifth Gurū's hymn, *karuṅ benatī
suni mere mītā* commenced with the line *audh ghate dinsu
rain hari* in Rāga Gaurī Dīpakī. The Bīṛ had one auto-
graph that of the Fifth Master only, as is apparent from
codices that appear to be straight copies of the Ādi Bīṛ;
Ragamala and other apocrypha had no place in it.

10. GURŪ'S NISHĀNS

The autographs presumed to be by Gurū Arjun Dev
found in the three bīrs, namely Kartārpurī, Bhāī Banno's
and Bohat's (reproduced by G.B. Singh in his book
Prachīn Bīṛāṅ on page 144) have no common resem-
blance. Likewise, claims made for the *nishān* of the Sixth
Gurū, as found in the Kartārpurī Bīṛ and Bhāī Banno's
Bīṛ are also suspect. Autographs in some of the other

bīrs, on scrutiny, are found to be by the Ninth Master although claims in respect of a few are made to be their being of earlier Gurūs . Whatever the situation, one thing can be said with certainty that the presence of an autograph in a bīr is in no way indicative of its approval by the Gurū, nor that the Granth did originate in the time of that very Gurū, for most of the *nishāns*, having been obtained on separate sheets of paper, are found pasted in the respective Granths.

CONCLUDING NOTE

The rest of the last section of the *Gāthā* has detailed notes on the significance of the Dates of Demise, Hanging Numerals, *Japu* inscribed by Guru Ramdas, Bhāī Banno's Bīr, Reclassification of the extant bīrs, Factors responsible for corrupting earlier manuscripts, Extra-canonical hymns, the Apocrypha and some problems relating to pronunciation. They cover articles Nos. 11 to 19. Besides, the book has three Appendices—1,2 and 3. Their abstracts are not produced here. The interested reader may look for them in the book itself.

BOOK II

THE CONTROVERSY

THE CONTROVERSY

Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth was yet in limbo when Pashaura Singh's doctoral thesis, "The Text and Meaning of the Ādi Granth" became the target of attack by a hostile camp in India and U.S.A. Dr. Singh had obtained his Ph. D. in November 1991 working under the guidance of W.H. Mcleod and O'Connel from the University of Toronto. Unluckily W.H. Mcleod had, for some time past, earned the wrath of a coterie of Sikh scholars. The coterie had been running an Institute of Sikh Studies at Chandigarh. It comprised S. Daljeet Singh IAS (Retired), Dr. Kharak Singh Mann, Dr. Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon, S. Gurtej Singh, former IAS Officer and a few other prominent Sikhs (all of Chandigarh). The Institute had as its financier Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann, an orthopaedic surgeon of California.

Soon after doing his Ph. D. Pashaura Singh had got an appointment at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, as Assistant Professor of Sikh Studies. This was an irritant to the hostile camp referred to above. They were wary of Pashaura Singh because of his affiliation with Dr. W.H. Mcleod.

Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann of California somehow obtained a copy of Pashaura Singh's doctoral thesis in September 1992. He sent its photocopies to various people to manouver its denunciation. His persistent efforts, in due course, brought him a large number of

adverse reviews which were duly flashed in the Sikh
news media of United States, Canada and U.K. These
were later on reproduced in the form of a book entitled
*Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib : Academics or
Blasphemy* (1994).

PASHAURA SINGH'S THESIS

In pursuance of his campaign, Dr. J. S. Mann of
California sent a copy of Pashaura Singh's thesis to Prof.
G. S. Randhawa, Vice-Chancellor of Guru Nanak Dev
University towards the close of September 1992. It was
passed on to me for review .

Pashaura Singh had, for constructing his thesis, depend-
ed mainly on two early sources : (1) Bābā Mohan Pothīs
and (ii) MS 1245 preserved in the Guru Nanak Dev
University Library. I too had, along with other sources,
used these two codices to build my thesis on the coming
up of the Sikh Scripture. Therefore, we were faced with
one common problem that of explaining text-variants in
the Mūlmantra (the creedal statement), one as it figured
in the Mohan Pothīs and the other that is current at present .
He had explained the phenomenon in his own way and
I, on lines depicted on pages 36-37 of this book. Both of
us, however, agreed that the Mūlmantra had undergone
a change at the time of canonization of the Holy Word.
As expected, my review of Pashaura Singh's thesis did not
find approval of Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann.

CHANDIGARH TEAM'S HUNT FOR FACTS

Towards the close of the fourth week of October
1992, I was called upon to help a team of visitors to
know something about MS 1245 preserved in the GND
University Library. The team consisted of S. Daljeet
Singh, the Patriarch of the Chandigarh coterie of schol-
ars, Dr. Kharak Singh Mann, Secretary of their Institute

of Sikh Studies and S. Gurmukh Singh, research scholar of the SGPC. Notwithstanding loud pretensions to a knowledge of manuscriptology made by Daljeet Singh in his work *Authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir*, he could not, by himself, make out any thing of MS 1245 shown to him . I, therefore, had to explain to the visitors its peculiar features . They were provided photostat copies of the pages they wanted, as also a copy of the antiques-cum-manuscript seller's note which had been put up by him on the cover of the manuscript to push up its sale.

During the discussion that lasted for about two hours, a hint escaped from my mouth that Kartārpurī Bīr, according to my findings, was not the original manuscript said to have been got prepared by Gurū Arjun Dev. This was, I could smell, not to the liking of S . Daljeet Singh . My insistence on the Mūlmantra having undergone a change too did not meet the visitors' approbation. They, I could see, had gone irritated, rather considerably annoyed.

Next day, they saw the SGPC Chief, Jathedar Tohra and prevailed upon him to issue a directive to the Sikhs in America to boycott Pashaura Singh for his blasphemous writings. It is rather strange that the SGPC Chief succumbed to their pleadings without giving Pashaura Singh any chance to explain his position . The directive to boycott Pashaura Singh was probably passed on to Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann who, in his turn, broadcast it to various Sikh Institutions in America and Canada .

Storm Over *Gātha*

My book, *Gātha Srī Ādi Granth* was put up for sale in the book exhibition held at the University on its 24th Foundation Day (November 24, 1992) . A few copies of it were obtained by Gurmukh Singh, SGPC research scholar and hurriedly sent to the Chandigarh Patriarch, S. Daljeet

Singh who lost no time in raising a storm over it.

On December 13, a friend of mine brought to my notice a news item in the Hindi *Janasata* of the Indian Express group of newspapers . It read that the SGPC was planning to refer Dr. Pashaura Singh's and my cases to the Akāl Takht for what they deemed blasphemous attack on Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib. This was in pursuance of S. Daljeet Singh's frantic efforts to get me punished and involve the University authorities too. Under the circumstances I thought it fit to write to the SGPC Chief suggesting discussion on points considered objection-able. I expressed my willingness to express regrets and make amendments in the book if felt necessary after a thorough discussion .

INQUISITION MACHINERY GEARED UP

Notwithstanding my extremely pleading letters, the SGPC went ahead with its plan. The report of the SGPC's Departmental Committee was first put up to an Eight-Member select Committee of Sikhs of committed pursuation. Then it was placed before the Dharam Prachar Committee of Jan. 5, 1993 which decided to refer my case to a still larger committee comprising thirty one members—all employees or yesmen of the SGPC.

This tossing of my case from one committee to another was very enigmatic to me. I had twice, in writing and through the press, expressed my willingness to make amends, if necessary, in the book but with no effect. The worst of the sordid drama was that no specific charge was levelled, atleast none was ever communicated to me.

BOOK SALE SUSPENDED

On December 15, 1992, the University received a

letter from the SGPC Chief to say that·the sale of the book be suspended till he received a report from a Committee of scholars appointed by him to look into the allegation of supposedly blasphemous writing. The Vice-Chancellor accordingly suspended the sale of the book and wrote back that the report of the Committee be sent to him too along with the names of three emissaries of theirs to enable him to have the matter thrashed out in a joint meeting of the SGPC's emissaries and University scholars. It speaks volumes for the attitude of the SGPC that it has not to this day obliged the University with their findings notwithstanding three reminders that the University has sent them.

VILIFICATION CAMPAIGN

Having secured an injuction on the sale of the book, S. Daljeet Singh and his comrades now started a campaign of vilification against me in the news media. The strategy was to touch upon the religious sentiments of the community and avoid meaningful discussion. Soon the press began to be deluded with vituperative articles, often very inflammatory to fan the religious feelings of the Sikhs.

The first article appeared in *Ajj dī Awāz*, a hardcore daily of Jalandhar with the caption *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Upar Kitābī Hamlā* (December 20, 1992). This was in the name of a surrogate contributor. To inflame the sentiments of the Sikh readers a coloured photograph of the Guru Granth in session together with a very vitriolic introductory note, was flashed.

ACCUSERS AND THE DEFENDERS

The stage having been set, the campaign now began to be pursued vigorously in the news media by the Chandigarh coterie of scholars. Their main plank was

to harp on the inviolability of the Holy Sikh Scripture which they stubbornly identified with the Kartārpurī Bīr . Secondly, they insisted on the revelatory character of *bāni*, again as embedded in the Kartārpurī Bīr. A side issue that cropped up was the decision of the SGPC to impose a wholesale ban on any sort of research on the Holy Scripture, the Gurū Granth.

I, at first, refrained from entering into the fray in the hope that I would soon be communicated specific charges and I shall then send my reply. Six weeks elapsed and yet there was no communication from the SGPC, while the propaganda of the hostile camp raged in full fury. I, therefore, decided to checkmate them through the news media.

The campaign against me was spearheaded by Dr. Gurdarshan Singh Dhillon and Gurtej Singh, both of Chandigarh, under the guidance of their mentor, S. Daljeet Singh. Later on Dr. Balkar Singh of Punjabi University, Patiala and some Indar Singh Ghaggā joined the fray on behalf of the Akāl Takht Chief. As for me, I was lucky in having two stalwarts in Dr. S. S. Dosānjh (Ludhiana) and S. Pritam Singh, Retired IAS Officer (Chandigarh). They took the main brunt of the attack made on me.

The question of freedom of expression and the need to carry on research on the Sikh Holy Scripture was defended by Harcharan Bains, S. Gurdarshan Singh Grewal, former Adovcate General, Dr. Darshan Singh Maini and a number of other renowned writers.

It is not possible to give a resume of all that passed between the two sides in the news media. The inquisitive reader may look up for it in the newspapers with the help of information provided in Appendix II at the end of the book.

Rendezvous With The Prospective Akāl Takht Chief

During the days the controversy over my book, *Gāthā*, errrupted, the Punjab was yet in the grip of hard-core terrorists . The religious hysteria that had been whipped up posed a threat to my life. A confidential word was passed on to me by Intelligence sources to be more watchful of my personal safety to avoid any untoward happening. I, therefore, temporarily moved to Patiala. There, I learnt that the Jathedar of Keshgarh, Prof. Manjit Singh had been tipped for appointment as the Acting Jathedar of the Akal Takht too. He had his residence in Urban Estate, Phase II, Patiala, near the Punjabi University Campus. I thought of having an interview with him, which materialized through the aegis of a common friend. This was sometime in the third week of January 1993.

Interview secured. I explained to the would-be Jathedar various allegations that were being levelled against me. I apprised him of the various documents I had relied upon for the conclusions in my book. I showed him a similar work that had been got executed by the SGPC itself and which stood published in the form of a book entitled *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Jī dīāṅ Santhā Sainchīāṅ ate Purātan Hath-likhit Pāwan Bīṛān de Parspar Pāth-bhedāṅ dī Sūchī* (1977). I assured him that mine was a work of genuine research. The object was to show the long and arduous process through which the canonization of the Holy Word had passed, and to see its text free of errors made by scribes.

Prof. Manjit Singh listened to me patiently and then observed that the trouble was the big intellectual gap that existed between the scholarly and the illiterate. I agreed with his analysis and submitted that my book was meant for scholars only. The meeting ended with

the cryptic remark made by the Jathedar that 'some miracle might occur'. A few days later he, through some emissary of his got from me a three page *aid memoire* of what I had stated to him.

THE DECISION TO INDICT CONFIRMED

On 28th January 1993 was held the much publicised meeting of the 31-member Committee. As was expected it endorsed the decision of the earlier committees to indict me. The appointment of Prof. Manjit Singh as Acting Jathedar of the Akal Takht came on 5 February, 1993. Just a day, after he had been nominated for the high office, Prof. Manjit Singh, in an interview with the Tribune correspondent at Keshgarh, declared that Piar Singh and Pashaura Singh, both, would definitely be punished for "They have tried to prove that they are wiser than the Gurus" (Tri, 5 Feb., 93). This was an indication as to which side the wind was to blow. The miracle promised by the Jathedar had begun to unfold. Earlier the SGPC Chief, Jathedar Tohra, had, in a meeting of the SGPC executive held at Sangh Dhesian of Feb. 4, 1993, observed "Dr. Piar Singh and Pashaura Singh both, on a call from Dr. Mcleod, Chairman of the Sikh Studies at a Canadian University, have challenged the authority of the Guru Granth Sahib. It is a conspiracy to finish the Sikhs". . . (Tri, 5 Feb., 93)

This charge of any nexus between Dr. Mcleod, Pashaura Singh and me was absolutely false; it had been implanted in the SGPC Chief's mind very assiduously by S. Daljeet Singh and Kharak Singh Mann; and they continued to repeat it *ad nauseam* for it served their purpose well. The Jathedar too did not lose a moment to echo it at the very first opportunity he got, after having been designated as the Acting Jathedar.

SUMMONS FROM THE TAKHT

Prof. Manjit Singh's formal installation as Acting Jathedar of Akal Takht took place on February 19, 1993. He issued his first summons to me on March 9 to appear at the Akāl Takht on March 13. The summons did not have any list of charges. So I asked for it to enable me to prepare for the purpose.

On March 11, I had a recurrence of an old cardiac ailment. I had, therefore, to get myself admitted in a nursing home. From there I informed the Jathedar of my illness. Here I was visited by a close associate of the Jathedar, evidently, to confirm if I was really ill!

Back home, I was yet convalescing when I received the second summons to present myself at the Akal Takht on March 31 at 10 A.M. In that state of health I felt dissident and made up my mind to say 'no ', but Dr. Madanjit Kaur prevailed upon me to honour my commitment. As I learnt later, Prof. Manjit Singh who was completely under the thumb of the Chandigarh coterie, was under great pressure from them to hasten judgement on my case and silence me without delay. They had become nervous of my rejoinders . They, therefore, tried on the one hand to stop publication of my articles by coercing the Editor of the Punjabi Tribune and on the other side by pressurizing the Acting Jathedar to step up proceedings against me.

The summons from the Akāl Takht, this time, again did not list specific charges. There were vague assurances of justice only. I, therefore, wrote back for specific charges, though I conveyed my willingness to attend .

HEARING AT THE AKĀL TAKHT

I along with five supporters of mine reached the Akāl Takht at the fixed hour. The team of the Jathedars

selected for hearing included the Acting Jathedar Prof. Manjit Singh, Jathedar Hakam Singh of Damdamā Sāhib Talwandī Sābo, Giani Bhagwan Singh, Head Granthi, Srī Akāl Takht Sāhib, Giani Mohan Singh, Head Granthi, Srī Harimandir Sāhib, and Giani Harcharan Singh, a senior Granthi of Srī Harimandir Sāhib. They decided to hold the meeting in camera. None of my supporters was allowed in.

The hearing took place with the Holy Granth in audience. Hearing was to be done in accordance with the tradition (*maryādā*) of the Akāl Takht . I did not know the *maryādā* ; so I watched the whole thing curiously. Prof. Manjit Singh, the Acting Jathedar, opened the hearing on a straight note. No *ardās* (supplication) was offered; no order (*vāk*) to start the hearing, as is the wont in the Sikh faith, was sought from the Holy Granth . This was, as I discovered later on, a serious lapse on the part of the young raw Jathedar. Yet he never owned up to it; nor made amends for it.

Now commenced the hearing. The Jathedar had in his hands a slip on which certain quotes from my book had been scribbled. My book marked with flaps was also before him. He switched the tape-recorder on and asked me if I was a Sikh. I was surprised and retorted, "What for then am I here?" The Jathedar repeated the question evidently not satisfied with my answer. Touching my flowing beard and pointing to my turbaned head I said, "What do I look like?" The Jathedar, however, persisted with the same question relentlessly till I declared, "Yes, I am a Sikh and have always been so."

The next question was "What faith do you hold to be the supreme?" I answered, "To me all faiths are true; it is only their followers who defile them." The Jathedar was not satisfied. He wanted to extract a positive verdict in favour of the Sikh faith. I had, therefore,

ultimately to relent and say "The Sikh faith, indeed, is the Supreme. That is way I owe my allegiance to it."

Now came the next question : "What Gurū do you own".

"I own Sabad as my Gurū. "

"What about the Gurū Granth?"

"I own it as Gurū and venerate it as such, since it is the repository of the Gurūs' Word".

"But, what Granth do you bow before?"

"The same as you bow before."

I did not know what the Jathedar was aiming at. The questioning on this specific point closed only after I specified the Damdamī Bīr.

Now the Jathedar began to read quotes from my book and ask questions. The first question related to my observation that 'the Mūlmantra as found in Bābā Mohan Pothīs, pointed to some sort of evolution undergone by it.' The Jathedar considered it to be an attack on the revelatory character of the *Gurbānī* and hence blasphemous. When I opended my mouth to explain my view thereof, he stopped me saying that he had read my notes and articles. I realized that the Jury's mind had already been made up and it was no use arguing with them. I had carried my satchel of documents with me. I decided not to open it and instead bear with them.

Jathedar Manjit Singh then read certain quotes from my book and went on questioning and ridiculing them. By way of precaution I had made it a habit with me to couch my formulations in guarded sentences studded with phrases like "it appears", "it seems", "probably", "perhaps" and so on. Jathedar Manjit Singh was furious, "What sort of research is it? It does not say anything categorically". I felt a little perplexed. It bewildered me to see that the Presiding Judge of our highest court, selected to adjudicate on a research piece, did not know

even the first principle of the discipline that research is a continuous process and, for that reason no person engaged in research could claim finality and, therefore, has, of necessity, to present his findings in a guarded language.

Since I had decided not to enter into any discussion and fulminations of the Jathedar were growing stronger, I requested him to close the chapter and announce the sentence. The hilarious Jathedar did not lose this opportunity to remind me tauntingly of an article that had appeared in the Tribune dated Feb. 12, 1993 under the headline "Will Granthīs Probe Scholars' Work." He rebuked me for authoring the article, though I did not even know of its publication until I came back home from Patiala. He, evidently, appeared to ask, "How dare you underrate the wisdom of the clergy?"

The hearing closed with the Jathedar's commandment to appear at the Akal Takht the next day in the morning session to receive the religious punishment .

Towards the close of the hearing I myself raised the question of the Kartārpurī Bīr and wanted to know specifically the jury's views about it, for my book was written mainly to identify it and I had no mind to yield on that point without proper discussion. As soon as I raised this question, late S. Hakam Singh Jathedar of the newly created Takht Damdamā Sāhib, Talwandī Sābo, asked Prof. Manjit Singh in a tone of great surprise, "Does he not believe in the authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīr too. "? This showed, he had not read my book and yet was participating in the deliberations. Probably the other three members of the Jury too had not gone through the book. None of them asked me any question.

The hearing ended, we all came out. The members of the Jury sat outside the room in the verandah to make

further deliberations. Representatives of the news media flocked to me to know what had transpired between us, but I warded them off. I collected my articles and alongwith my companions left for home. I had not yet gone a few yards away from the place of the hearing, when an emissary of the Jathedar came to me running and took me back to the Jathedar. There the Jathedar proposed that I should surrender the copyrights of the book to the Akāl Ta<u>kh</u>t with the permission to correct or burn it. This shocked me the most, but I kept cool and said politely, "The book has been published by the University and it is upto them to decide on the matter. If you wish to burn it, you may approach them."

VERDICT AND ITS AFTERMATH

On April 1, a special session of the congregation was held at the Akāl Ta<u>kh</u>t at about 8.30 A.M. First a few hymns suiting the occasion were sung. Then the Acting Jathedar got up to speak on the Institution of the Five Beloved ones. I don't know why he chose to sermonize on a topic that had no relevance to the issue in hand. He was, perhaps, apprehensive of the reaction that his intended announcement of the unusually harsh punishment was likely to generate and he wanted to mitigate it by showing it to be the decision of a duly sanctified collective authority.

The verdict of my being guilty was a foregone conclusion . What mattered was the nature and quantum of the punishment. The *hukamnāmā* issued then required me to do a forty day penance at Gurdwara Rāmsar by reciting the *Japu* and the *Sukhmanī*. Alongwith this, I was to sweep floors and also carry on dusting of shoes daily for sometime too. The general reaction in the Press was of 'a shocking verdict' and 'harsh

punishment'. The irony of the fate was that persons close to Prof. Manjit Singh were claiming that Dr. Piar Singh had been awarded a light punishment in view of his old age and poor health! "Be as it is" ask my sympathisers, "Prof. Manjit Singh has to explain why only seven day's punishment to Dr. Pashaura Singh for exactly the same lapse as was committed by Dr. Piar Singh?"

As before, I did not allow the press to interview me, nor did I express myself on the punishment. Yet my case continued to be discussed in the press and it soon embroiled in itself the whole gamut of the Institution of the Akāl Takht. It is not possible to give a resume--however brief and sketchy--of all that appeared in the press. The interested may look for details in the newspapers and journals of the period as detailed in Appendix II, below.

The Penance And Exoneration

I began my penance at Gurdwara Rāmsar on April 2. For the first week or so, an emissary of the Akāl Takht visited the place to check for himself whether I was really undergoing the penance! Later on, the duty was, probably, entrusted to the local SGPC official .

During the penance a niece of mine, Jatinder Kaur, Dr. Madanjit Kaur, Dr. Narinder Kaur Bhatia, another kindly lady Diljit Kaur and her husband S. Gurnam Singh joined me in my daily penance. This gesture on their part was a great solace to me. I shall always carry their sweet memory with me.

The penance ended on May 11, and the exoneration was granted the following day, i.e., on May 12 after a formal ardās(supplication) by Giani Bhagwan Singh, Head Granthi of the Akāl Takht.

Later Developments

On May 13, that is one day after my exoneration, I wrote to the Acting Jathedar Prof. Manjit Singh to apprise me of the passages in my book as were thought to be objectionable so that I may make necessary corrections . A similar letter dt. 26 May, 93 went to the SGPC Chief from the Vice-Chancellor of the University too. Both the letters having reached Prof. Manjit Singh, he constituted a five member committee to go through the book, and find out objectionable passages in it (Tri. June 6, 1993). The Committee consisted of Dr. Balkār Singh, Head of the Department of Gurū Granth Sāhib Studies, Punjabi University, Patiala, Dr. Darshan Singh, Head of the Department of Gurū Nanak Studies, Punjab University, Chandigarh, S. Jogindar Singh Talwāṛā , Dr. Jaspāl Singh of Gurū Teg̲h̲ Bhādur Khālsā College, Delhi, and Prof. Vikram Singh of Gurmat College, Patiala.

This created an "intriguing situation". S. Pritam Singh IAS (Retired) of Chandigarh took notice of it in the Punjabi Tribune dated June 13. Recalling the various fora through which Dr. Piar Singh's case had gone and the fact that he had not only been indicted but undergone punishment too, he observed, "It looks very intriguing that he has been punished for lapses that are yet to be detected". . . . . "This is", he opined, "what the constituting of the new fact-finding committee tentamounts to."

Pritam Singh—Ghagga Exchanges

The article by S . Pritam Singh in the Punjabi Tribune (June 13) was captioned *"Dādhī Chintā dī Gharī"*. It generated a prolonged controversy between Indar Singh Ghaggā, a protege of Prof. Manjit Singh, and Pritam Singh IAS (Retired) of Chandigarh. The articles

and rejoinders that the two exchanged are listed in Appendix II of the book. The controversy closed with an article by me in which I set the record straight by pointing out that Pritam Singh was right in questioning (1) Whether constituting a new Committee was not tantamount to opening of the question anew, which the Jathedar had himself forbade in his decree (*hukamnāmā*); (2) Whether constituting a new Committee did not show that the Jathedar himself was not sure of the charges against the author; (3) Whether it was not indiscreet on the part of the Jathedar to moot the burning of the book without the concurrence of the University which is an autonomons body and is the publisher of the book (Pbi Tri, 12 Sep., 93).

WORLD-WIDE REACTION

The intensity with which the SGPC, instigated by the Chandigarh hard-core scholars, propagated against my book linking it with Pashaura Singh's thesis and sensing ghosts of conspiracy in it to destroy the Sikh religion, drew the attention of the World community as were apprehensive of the rise of religious fundamentalism in otherwise a tolerant people. The harsh verdict evoked strong reaction at home and abroad, both. Nearer home it was interpreted as Tyranny of Dogma (*IE*, May 23, 1993).

Almost all the important journals and dailies of India took notice of the verdict. Even BBC reported on it. The News Track flashed the whole episode in a ten minutes diplay in their Video released on May 24, 1993. Jathedar Manjit Singh avoided facing the camera but President Tohra obliged them with his sermon that challenge to the Guru Granth's authority cannot be tolerated, giving the impression that I had challenged

the authority of the Granth as the living Gurū, which was absolutely wrong. After all, pointing out a few mistakes made by scribes and showing the change in the Mūlmantra that had probably been made by Gurū Arjun at the time of canonization of *bānī* and yet all the time giving full cognition to the present Mūlmantra, can in no way be construed as a challenge to the Gurū.

SAGA OF THE OPEN LETTER

Notwithstanding numerous requests and a dozen reminders, the Jathedar did not oblige me with a list of objectionable passages I had asked for. The Committee, he had formed to pinpoint objectionable passages, could not come to any conclusion .

In the meantime I found fresh evidence to substantiate my thesis on the linguistic change the Mūlmantra had undergone. I published it in the form of an open letter dated March 17, 1994 with posers to the Jathedar. The *Nawān Zamānā* of Jalandhar, flashed it in toto (March 18). The coterie around the Jathedar, felt greatly annoyed. Jathedar Manjit Singh came out with an ambiguous Press Note which betrayed his anxiety to wriggle out of the maze he had landed himself in by his act of constituting a fresh fault-finding committee (*Ajit*, March 23, 1993). His reluctance to convey to me pointedly the objectionable passages in my book still persists. The fact remains that they have no solid ground to logically substantiate their case.

A rejoinder to my open letter was published by Dr. Vikram Singh, one of the Jathedar's protege and a member of the Committee set up by him, in the monthly *Aas Pass* of Patiala, in its July 1994 issue. The weakness of his arguments advanced therein were duly exposed by me in the March 1995 issue of the same paper.

In Conclusion

It is but meet that this chapter should now be closed here and the readers may be spared the fatigue of going through the details of the tactics used by my detractors to browbeat me, to misrepresent facts, to publicise imaginary conspiracies, to checkmate the publication of my rejoinders, to wean away from me my supporters, and to manage issuance of threats to my life. The interested may look up for them in the news media of the period with the help of Appendix II.

BOOK III

MAIN ISSUES

(CONTENTIONS AND REBUTTALS)

THE KARTĀRPURĪ BĪR

1. AKAL TAKHT'S INDICTMENT

The Jathedar's letter dated March 9, 1993, asking me to appear before the Akal Takht listed two charges : (1) That I had in my book, *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth*, challenged the authenticity of Sri Guru Granth Sahib; and (2) that I had cast doubts on the revelatory character of Gurbānī, the Sikh Holy Word[1]. The Jathedar, at no stage of the hearing, spelt out what he meant by the first charge. He, all along, dwelt on the second charge and reprimanded me for postulating that the Mūlmantra had undergone a change at the hands of the Fifth Guru, at the time it was canonized. He did not take up the first charge even when I myself broached the question of the authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīr, about which the Chandigarh contenders were crying themselves hoarse. Evidently he did not feel himself to be on sure ground. Yet, for listing and meeting questions raised in the controversy on my book, *Gāthā*, I shall not restrict myself to what transpired in my hearing at the Akal Takht only; I shall rather, try to cover all the issues that cropped up whatever their source.

2. CREDENTIALS OF THE KARTĀRPURĪ BĪR

The first main issue relates to the authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīr. It is a matter of faith, rather a dogma

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[1]. ਪੁਸਤਕ ਨੂੰ ਵਾਚਣ ਤੋਂ ਇਵੇਂ ਮਹਿਸੂਸ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਇਸ ਵਿਚ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪ੍ਰਮਾਣਿਕਤਾ ਉੱਤੇ ਉਠਕਣ ਤੋਂ ਇਲਾਵਾ "ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਬਾਣੀ ਤਤ ਵਖਾਣੀ ਗਿਆਨਹ ਧਿਆਨ ਵਿਚ ਆਈ" ਦੇ ਮੁਢਲੇ ਤੇ ਸਰਬ ਪ੍ਰਵਾਣਿਤ ਸਿੱਖ ਸਿੱਧਾਂਤ ਨੂੰ ਪੈਥਲਾਉਣ ਦਾ ਯਤਨ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

with the contenders that the Kartārpurī Bīr is the orig-
inal *Ādi Granth* that was prepared by the Fifth Guru with
assistance from Bhāī Gurdās[2]. Daljeet Singh's book
Authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīr, is for them the last word
on the subject.

One cannot have and should not have any objection
to what they believe. Indeed, they are welcome to hold
any opinion, but it defies reason when they like the
Āyat-Ullāh Khumeinī of Persia begin to pass verdicts of
blasphemy on all those as are not willing to subscribe
to their dogmatic view and go to the extent of getting
them punished . Anyway, this is what they mean by
"challenge to the authenticity of the Guru Granth". They
equate the Kartārpurī Bīr with the Guru Granth un-
mindful of the tradition which bestowed the Gurgaddī
to Sabad-Guru as embedded in the Damdamī Bīr.

The second fall-out of the blind adherence to the
above dogma[2] is that they do not and would not coun-
tenance whatever does not conform to the Kartārpurī
Bīr. They speak of the Guru Granth (the Damdamī
recension instituted as Sabad-Guru), refer to it as the
Ādi Granth (prepared by Bhāī Gurdās at the behest of
the Fifth Master) and end up by identifying it with the
Kartārpurī Bīr.

The third fall-out is their dogmatic belief that after
the completion of the *Ādi Granth* at the hands of Bhāī
Gurdās all subsequent bīrs (codices) could not but be
the copies of the original *Ādi Granth*, by which they
invariably mean the Kartārpurī Bīr, and that any thing
converging away from it is but distortion . This is a
very erroneous belief and cannot be, as shown by us,
sustained by a scrutiny of numerous bīrs with different
formats and a large number of text-variants available
even now.

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[2] For a fuller account of this seducer dogma, see pp. 121-122, below.

3. EXAMINATION OF THE CREDENTIALS

In our examination of the credentials of the Kartārpurī Bīr we shall continually refer to the contentions of Daljeet Singh made in his book *The Authenticity of Kartārpurī Bīr*, abbreviated by us to *Auth* for the purpose of reference in this book, for it is he who has protruded it as an infallible dogma, the infringement of which must invite severest punishment.

4. CUSTODY : HISTORICAL TRADITION

Episode 1. Recalling the first episode in suppport of his custody thesis, Daljeet Singh writes :

The historical tradition is consistent that (a) *Kartarpuri Bir* is the original *Bir* compiled by the fifth Guru (*Auth*, p.2); and (b) it is accepted that the original *Adi Granth* remained with the family of Dhirmal the great grandson of the Guru, and his descendants at Kartarpur (*Auth*, p. 7).

As for part (a) of the contention that relates to the identity of the Kartarpuri Bīr, no source earlier than *Gurbilās Chheviṅ Pātshāhī* (*ca.* AD 1840) and *Gurpratāp Sūraj Granth* (AD 1843), is seen vouchsafing the identity of the Kartārpurī Bīr with the original *Ādi Granth*. Earlier references to the *Ādi Granth* take notice of it by the appellation "Baṛā Bābā " (the Grand Scripture) or "Panjveṅ Mahalle kā Granth" (the Granth of the Fifth Master), and not as the Kartārpurī Bīr. The two sources quoted above pertain to the period when the Kartārpurī Bīr had already managed to win recognition as the original *Ādi Granth* and had a jagir bestowed on it by Maharājā Ranjit Singh. No reliance therefore can be placed on them.

Rattan Singh Bhangu who produced his *Srī Gurū Panth Prakāsh* in AD 1841 contemporaneously with the two sources mentioned above, does not identify the

original *Adi Granth* with the Kartārpurī Bīr. He refers
to it as the "Amritsarī Granth" which, he states, was
lost for good along with the Damdamī Granth in the
battle that the Khālsā Dal waged against the Durrānī
forces at Kupp Rahīrā in AD 1762[3].

The claim of the Kartārpurī Bīr, as having always
been identified with the original *Adi Granth* is, thus, not
tenable.

As for part (b) of the contention stating it to have
remained in the custody of Dhīrmall and his descen-
dants, there is again scant reliable tradition. The earliest
reference to the *Adi Granth's* being in possession of
Dhīrmall at the time of his father's death is to be found
again in *Gurbilās Chhevin Pātshāhī (ca.* AD 1840). It states
that when Gurū Harigobind shifted his headquarters to
Kīratpur, Dhīrmall, along with his mother stayed back
at Kartārpur. His intention was to seek pardon of the
Muslim rulers and keep his hold on his ancestral estate.
The *Adi Granth,* it is said, was at that time in his custody.
Soon after this, when his father Bābā Gurdittā died, his
grandfather, Gurū Harigobind, sent him a word to reach
Kīratpur along with his mother and the Granth to
perform his father's obsequies. Dhīrmall did not oblige,
nor did he part with the Granth . He wanted to keep
it in his possession to grab Gurgaddī (pp.504 and 510-
11).

Born in AD 1626, Dhīrmall was hardly twelve years
old when his father, Bābā Gurdittā, expired in AD 1638.
It defies reason that he should, at this tender age, have
thought in terms postulated by the author of *Gurbilās
Chhevin Pātshāhī.* Secondly, it is not understandable that
he should have chosen to jeopardize his chances to

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3. ਜ਼ੋਰ ਪਾਇ ਸਿੰਘ ਫੌਜ ਨਿਕਾਰੀ, ਘੇਰਯੋ ਬਹੀਰ ਬਹੁ ਤੁਮਲ ਭਾਰੀ।
    ਤਿਨ ਮੋ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਤੁਰਤ ਥੋ ਦੋਇ, ਇਕ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤਸਗੋਇ ਦਮਦਮੀਏ ਜੋਇ॥ ੧੧੧॥
    ਘੇਰ ਲਯੋ ਤਿਨ ਅਗਾਧੋ ਆਇ, ਜੁਦੇ ਜੁਦੇ ਤੇ ਦਏ ਕਰਾਇ॥
    ਯਹ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਤਹਿ ਲਛੋ ਮਝੈਲ, ਰਖਤ ਹੁਤੇ ਥੇ ਬਸਕਰ ਫੌਲ॥ ੧੧੨ ॥

Gurgaddī by staying back at home and avoiding performance of last rites of his father, through whose line of succession only he could lay claim to Gurgaddī! Thirdly, Guru Harigobind stayed at Kīratpur for about ten years, where he was regularly visited by a large number of his followers every day. It begs the question that he should have had no copy of the Holy Scripture with him; much more that he should have readily parted with the acknowledged insignia of Gurūship for all the ten long years he passed at Kīratpur! Lastly, the colophon these few slokas have been copied from the Fifth Master's Granth (*itane sloka panjveṅ mahalle ke granth uparoṅ likhe*) in the Dehradūn Bīṛ, vouchsafes its presence at Kīratpur where the Dehradūn Bīṛ was transcribed in 1716 BK/AD 1659 during the pontificate of Gurū Hari Rai. Under the circumstances the truth of the contention that the *Ādi Granth* remained always in the custody of Dhīrmall becomes extremely suspect.

Episode 2. It relates to the story of the *Ādi Granth's* being 'coercively taken away by Gurū Tegh Bahadur's men from Dhīrmall's family and its being restored later on at the instance of the Gurū himself (*Auth*, p. 78). This story is deeply entrenched in the minds of the Sikhs. Yet its earliest account is not to be found except in *Gurpratāp Sūraj Granth* (AD 1843) which is a product of the Sikh times when the Kartārpurī Bīṛ had already got itself entrenched as the original *Ādi Granth*. The floating of this story and also those mentioned in episodes 3 and 4 appear to be but concoctions by the descendants of Dhīrmall to lend credence to their claim to be in possession of the original *Ādi Granth* prepared by Bhāī Gurdās. Those were the times when every replica of the Gurūs, every little place they had visited, and every inhabitate they had sanctified with their visit, had come to be venerated and prized the most. Hand-

some *jāgīrs* and fat fiefs in cash and costly goods were their sure lot.

Episode 3. This episode relates to a request made by the Tenth Master to the scions of Dhīrmall to lend him the Bīr to enable him to prepare the final copy by entering in it the hymns of his father, Guru Tegh Bahādur. Daljeet Singh regards the event to have taken place at Anandpur Sāhib (*Auth*, pp. 8, 58). Many others relate it to Talwandī Sābo, now called Damdamā Sāhib.[4] Both the versions are untenable for no love was lost between the families of Guru Tegh Bahādur and Dhīrmall after their skirmish for Gurgaddī. Rather there existed an injunction by Guru Gobind Singh against having any tuck up with Dhīrmallis along with Mīnas, Masaṅds, Rāmarāyyas and the Sirgums. Besides, there was no dearth of copies of the *Ādi Granth* at Anandpur Sahib. Even today we are in the ken of many copies of the *Ādi Granth* with the Ninth Guru's *bāṇī* entered in them and bearing dates prior to Guru Gobind Singh's sojourn at Talwandī Sābo.

For these reasons, all these stories are no more than myths floated by the scions of Dhīrmall to lend credence to the copy of the *Ādi Granth* they had in their possession.

Episode 4. Yet another episode connected with the Kartārpurī Bīr is the myth perpetrated by Giānī Giān Singh of the *Panth Prakāsh* fame that Bābā Dip Singh Shahīd spent many days at Kartārpur to have a copy of the Granth collated with the Kartārpurī Bīr. Daljeet Singh refers to this episode to prove the Granth's existence at Kartārpur (*Auth*, p. 8), but he does not go

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4. The earliest account of the request for the loan of the Bīr by the Tenth Master is found in *Bansāwalīnāmā* (AD1769). It suffers from two defects. The request is shown to have gone from Guru Gobind Singh to Dhīrmall who actually had died long long ago. Secondly, the purpose for which the demand was made has not been specified. The author places this event in 1753 BK/AD 1696 (Charan X, St. 295) three years before the institution of the Khālsā

beyond that. Anyway, it is stated that the Bābā, there-after, prepared four copies of the bīr he had checked up with the Kartārpurī Bīr. He sent one each to Amritsar, Nanded, Patnā and Keshgaṛh. The fifth he kept for himself which, in wars with the Durrānī legions, was lost by the Khālsā Dal. Giānī Giān Singh states it to have reached Kābul (*Tawārīkh Gurū Khālsā*, p. 341). But all this is a myth. Randhir Singh, late research scholar of the SGPC writes in his unpublished work "Gursabad Vigas" that efforts made by Kāhn Singh Nābhā and, later on, by Dr. Gandā Singh to trace the said bīr at Kābul proved futile. Likewise, a careful search and examina-tion of the bīrs said to have been deposited by Shahīd Bābā Dīp Singh at the four Takhts proved to be illusory. No trace of any bīr was found. The whole story is a concoction of some fertile mind.

The tradition regarding custody, manipulated as it proves to be, is thus totally unreliable.

5. SAGA OF BLANK PAGES

Another contention put forth by Daljeet Singh is that the Kartārpurī Bīr has a very large number of blank pages in it. 'Had it been a copy, there would have been no such thing' (*Auth*, pp. 15-16). Daljeet Singh is not aware that this is not an exclusive phenomenon of the Kartārpurī Bīr. All earlier independent compilations, such as Bābā Mohan Pothīs, Bāhowal Pothī, MS 1245 (GNDU) and even the Jograj's Granth (listed in the *Gāthā* at No. 19) have, more or less, blank pages in them. This contention of Daljeet Singh, therefore, does not go beyond showing that Kartārpurī Bīr was an independent and sporadic attempt at compilation of *bānī*.

6. RIDDLE OF THE NEW MARGIN

Dr. Bhai Jodh Singh writes that all the leaves of the

Granth, i.e., the Kartarpuri Bīṛ except the ones that are blank, have a new margin affixed to them on all the four sides, in a different brand of paper (KBD, p.3). This is a very vital piece of information and needs probing.

The tradition covering episode 2 above narrates that Gurū Tegh Bahadur did not approve of the forcible seizure of the *Ādi Granth* from Dhīrmall. He, therefore, ordered it to be sent back to him. Since no body was willing to take it back to Dhirmall, the tradition adds, the Gurū entrusted it to the bed of the river Beas and sent Dhīrmall a word to retrieve it from there. On receiving the message Dhīrmall went there and recovered the *Ādi Granth* from the bed of the river. It is claimed that the dampness of the river-bed soiled the margin badly but did not harm the text (*Sūraj Prakāsh*, Rās XI, Ānsu 26). This is how traditionalists think the *Ādi Granth* had its new margin.

Daljeet Singh believes in the first part of the story but dismisses the latter part saying 'very probably the story of a miracle has been introduced to attract offerings for the miracle-working Bīṛ (*Auth*, p. 57). We agree with his observation that 'the leaves of the Kartārpuri Bīṛ show no sign what-so-ever of damage by water or dampness ' (*Auth*, p. 58). Daljeet Singh, however, does not go into the implications of the new margin and additions to the text made on it.

Whether the *Ādi Granth* got a new margin, as the traditionalists declare, on its recovery from the river-bed, which event took place in AD 1664, i.e., sixty years after the completion of the Bīṛ or as a result of wear and tear, or on some other ground, a few decades later or somewhat earlier, it could not have at any rate, been in AD 1604, the year in which the Bīṛ was completed. This fact needs be kept in sight.

Bhai Jodh Singh lists over five dozen writings done
in the margin by way of corrections and emendations.
Daljeet Singh too takes notice of them. In his book, the
Authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīr, he writes :

> There are numerous instances where *sabads, slokas*
> and a part of the *Bani* have been written in the
> margin, evidently, because in each case the *bani*
> appears to have been found or collected later on (p.
> 19).

He adds further—

> All this could happen only in the original (*Bīr*)
> because of late collection of the *Bani* or the scribe,
> Bhai Gurdas, having omitted to record it in its right
> sequence or its right place (*Ibid*).

We do not know the exact position of the various
corrections noted in the margin. Bhai Jodh Singh has
not specified which of the corrections noted by him in
his *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan* appear in the new margin
and in what hand and which ones are on the fringe
of the old . Yet it is quite clear that corrections covering
two to four lines or more, however obliquely written,
could not (because of narrow fringe of the old margin)
but encroach upon the new margin. Under the circum-
stances a question arises how can writings in the new
margin done many a decade after the completion of the
Bīr be said to be corrections made with the approval
of the Fifth Guru, or that they are in Bhāī Gurdās' hand?
This one fact alone is sufficient to demolish Daljeet
Singh's thesis that the Kartārpurī Bīr is the original Bīr
prepared by Bhāī Gurdās. Daljeet Singh fails to com-
prehend that all these corrections and rectifications of
mistakes, which he thinks to be by Bhāī Gurdās himself,
may well be the result of an attempt by someone else
to recast another independently made compilation, in
the mould of the *Ādi Granth* . And this is what actually

happened . But let us proceed bit by bit .

7. HANDS MORE THAN TWO

Daljeet Singh in his book surmises that the Kartārpurī
Bīr is in one hand. He regards this fact as conclusive
proof of the Bīr's originality (*Auth*, p. 16). Daljeet Singh
is evidently misinformed. As is evident from notes in
the *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan*, Bhai Jodh Singh could
discern six hands that worked at the Kartārpurī Bīr
though he believed the main corpus of the Granth to
be in Bhāī Gurdās' hand, with sprinklings of Gurū
Arjun's hand here and there. This fact of more than two
hands at work on the Bīr falsifies its claim to be the
original bīr prepared by Bhāī Gurdās. The claim is that
Bhāī Gurdās was its sole amanuensis working under the
direct supervision of the Fifth Guru (*Auth*, pp. 1-2).

Randhir Singh, late research scholar of the SGPC,
who had an opportunity of examining the Bīr at close
quarters along with Bhāī Mahān Singh in 1946, does not
subscribe to Bhāī Jodh Singh's view. He holds that the
hymns Bhai Sahib considers to be in Gurū Arjun's hand,
are in reality in the hand of a different scribe who was
instrumental in entering a few hymns mostly belonging
to the Fifth Gurū at the end of Guru's respective
columns in the rāgas concerned. He cites the following
six hymns to clinch this issue :

1) ਦਰਸਨ ਕਉ ਲੋਚੈ ਸਭ ਕੋਇ   (ਸੂਹੀ ਮ:5, ਚਉ 40)

2) ਮੋਹਨ ਕੈ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੈ ਜਾਉ   (ਗੋਂਡ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 22)

3) ਹਉ ਅਨ ਦਿਨੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਲਈ ਕਰਤਾਰੇ   (ਮਾਰੂ ਮ: 4, ਚਉ 8)

4) ਭੈ ਕਉ ਭਉ ਪੜਿਆ   (ਭੈਰਉ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 52)

5) ਤਾ ਤੇ ਜਾਪਿ ਮਨਾ ਹਰਿ ਨਾਮ   (ਕਾਨੜਾ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 44)

6) ਰਾਮ ਨਾਮ ਕੋ ਪਟੰਤਰੈ   (ਸਲੋਕ ਕਬੀਰ)*

*(ਕਟਿਆ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ, *KBD*; ਪੰਨਾ 943/2)

About the first (*darshan kau lochai sabh koi*) hymn mentioned above Daljeet Singh informs us that–

> Dr. Jodh Singh who has observed the writing of this *Sabad* closely and made the comparison, feels that this *Sabad* had been written by the fifth Guru himself because the handwriting i.e. the shape of the letters and of the "*lag matras*", is identical with the handwriting in which the *Nishan* of the fifth Guru at page 29/1 stands written. (*Auth*, p. 25).

Late SGPC research scholar, Randhir Singh, however, tells us in his unpublished book "Gursabad Vigās" that Kabir's sloka reproduced at 6 above (*rām nām ke patantrai*) too is in the same hand as is the first hymn (*darshan kau lochai sabh koi*). This presents a ticklish situation : the hymn *darshan kau lochai* and Kabir's sloka *rām nām kai patantrai* both are, then, in Gurū Arjun's hand . But the sloka stands crossed. Had the sloka been written by the Gurū himself, this eventuality would not have arisen . It cannot be presumed that the Gurū himself first entered an unauthentic sloka in the Bīr and thereafter got it deleted. The hymn (*darshan kau lochai*) thus is neither in Bhāī Gurdas' hand nor in that of the Gurū. For that reason Kartārpurī Bīr's claim to be the original Bīr prepared by Bhāī Gurdās falls through.

8. FIFTH AND SIXTH GURU'S NISHĀNS

Daljeet Singh holds that 'the originality of the Kartārpurī Bīr is also established by the *nishān* or mark of the fifth Gurū' (*Auth*, p .25). It appears on page 29/1. About a dozen blank pages intervene between it and the *Japu* page. In the contents' page of the pothī which, we shall soon show, is a lifted/borrowed page, it, however, is listed at page 45 and is followed immediately by *Japu* on page 46. This raises a question whether this particular Bīr had really a *nishan* at the time of its

inception? The present *nishan* has its folio 29 inscribed
on it in its left hand corner. This is, clearly, an indication
to the binder where to mount it. It, thus, is a pasted
document. A discerning look at the *nishan* (Fig.1) con-
firms this beyond doubt.

The lower edge of the *nishan* shows the joint (x)
clearly and reveals that initially the *nishan* was on a
loose sheet of paper. Later on it was mounted on
another piece of paper and then subjected to lamination .
The upper edge of the *nishan* shows very clearly the
fringe (+) of the sheet on which it was mounted for
lamination . Harnam Das Udasīn who claims to have
seen the Kartārpurī Bīr at close quarters reports to this
effect too. He writes that the *nishān* in the bīr is in the
nature of a document pasted on one of the leaves of
the Bīr in the manner of a picture, beautifully decorated.
He asserts that a touch at its joints leaves no doubt
about its being an extraneous piece.[5] His assertion does
not require much of credibility to believe it, for in about
half a dozen bīrs with *nishāns* that I myself have ex-
amined, *nishāns* invariably are found pasted and decorated
at ends on all the four sides.

From an account given by Harnam Das in his book
referred to above it transpires that he examined the
Kartarpuri Bīr sometime in early fifties when it was in
the custody of his friend Pritam Das Udasīn[6], i.e., before
its lamination which came off in 1957. Soon after this
he examined another lot of some forty bīrs in 1954-55,
when the contoversy over mangals errupted. Therefore
there can be and should be no hesitation in accepting
his account of the *nishan*, much so when the facsimile
(Fig. 1) vouchsafes it.

The *nishān* in the Kartārpurī Bīr embodies the

5.   Harnam Das, *Adi Granth Sahib Ji dian Purātan Birān te Vichār*, pp. 6-7 (Part-I).
6.   *Ibid.*, p. 2. ff.
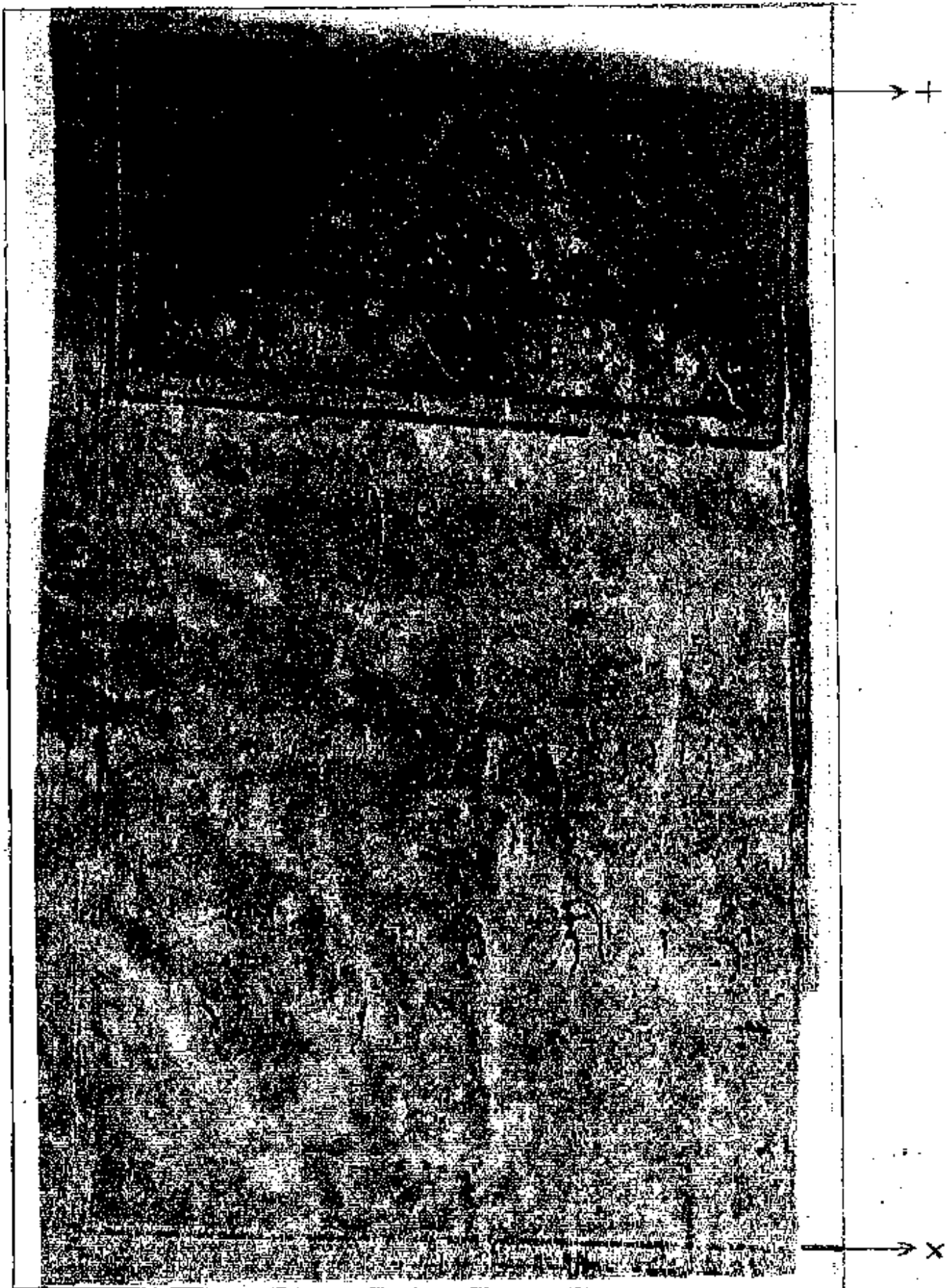
Fig. 1. Facsimile of Fifth Guru, Arjun's, *nishan* in the Kartarpuri Bir. In its left hand corner may be seen figure 29 which clearly is an indication to the binder where to mount it. It is on the top edge of the fringe of the sheet marked + on which the *nishan* was first mounted to let it pass through the process of illumination. The lower edge marked X shows the joint of the pasted *nishan* very clearly.
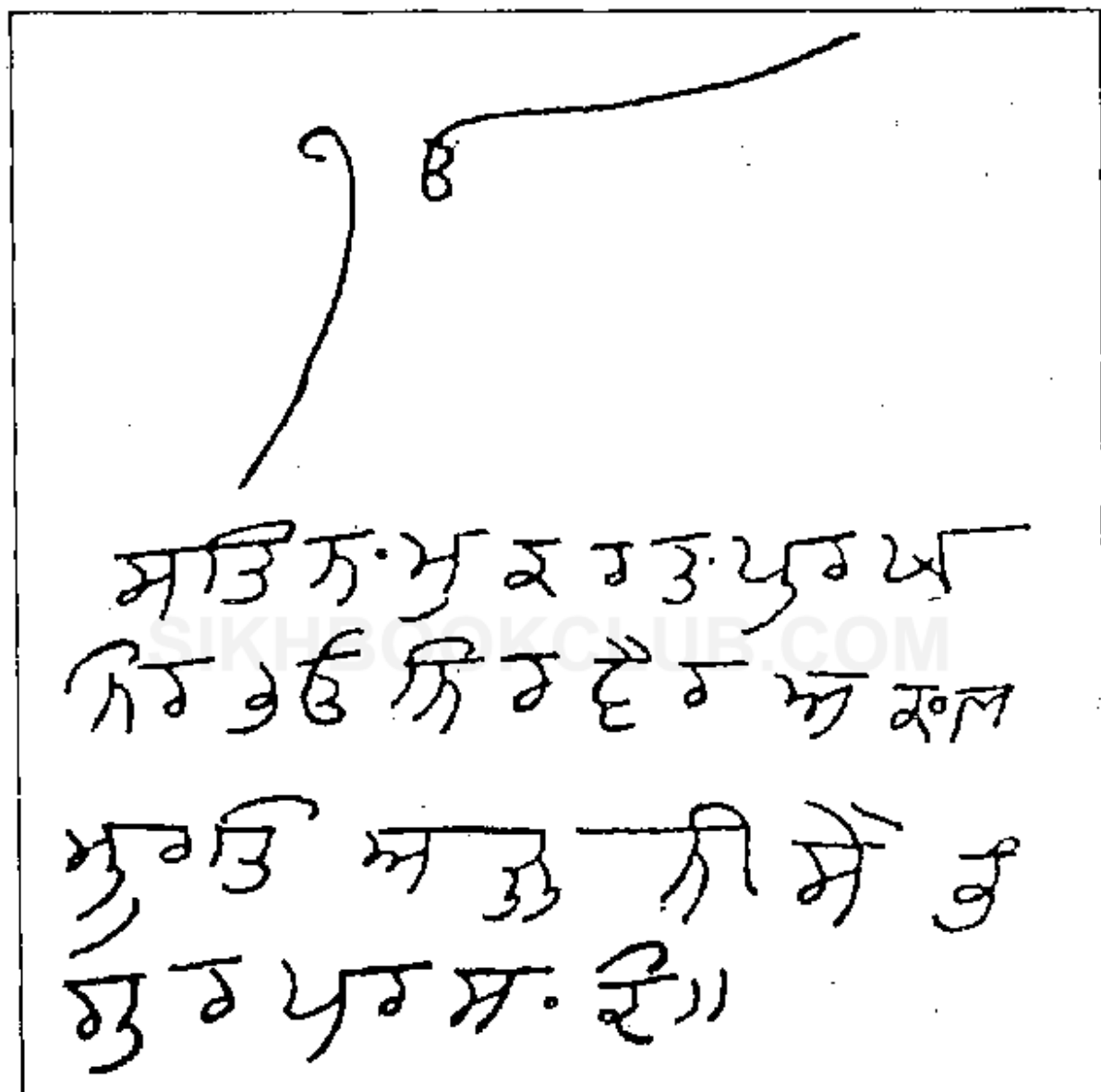
Fig.2. Text of Fifth Guru's *nishan* in the facsimile reproduced overleaf. Source: Title page of *Punjabi Dunia* (Feb-Mar, 1965 issue) Languages Deptt., Punjab, Patiala.
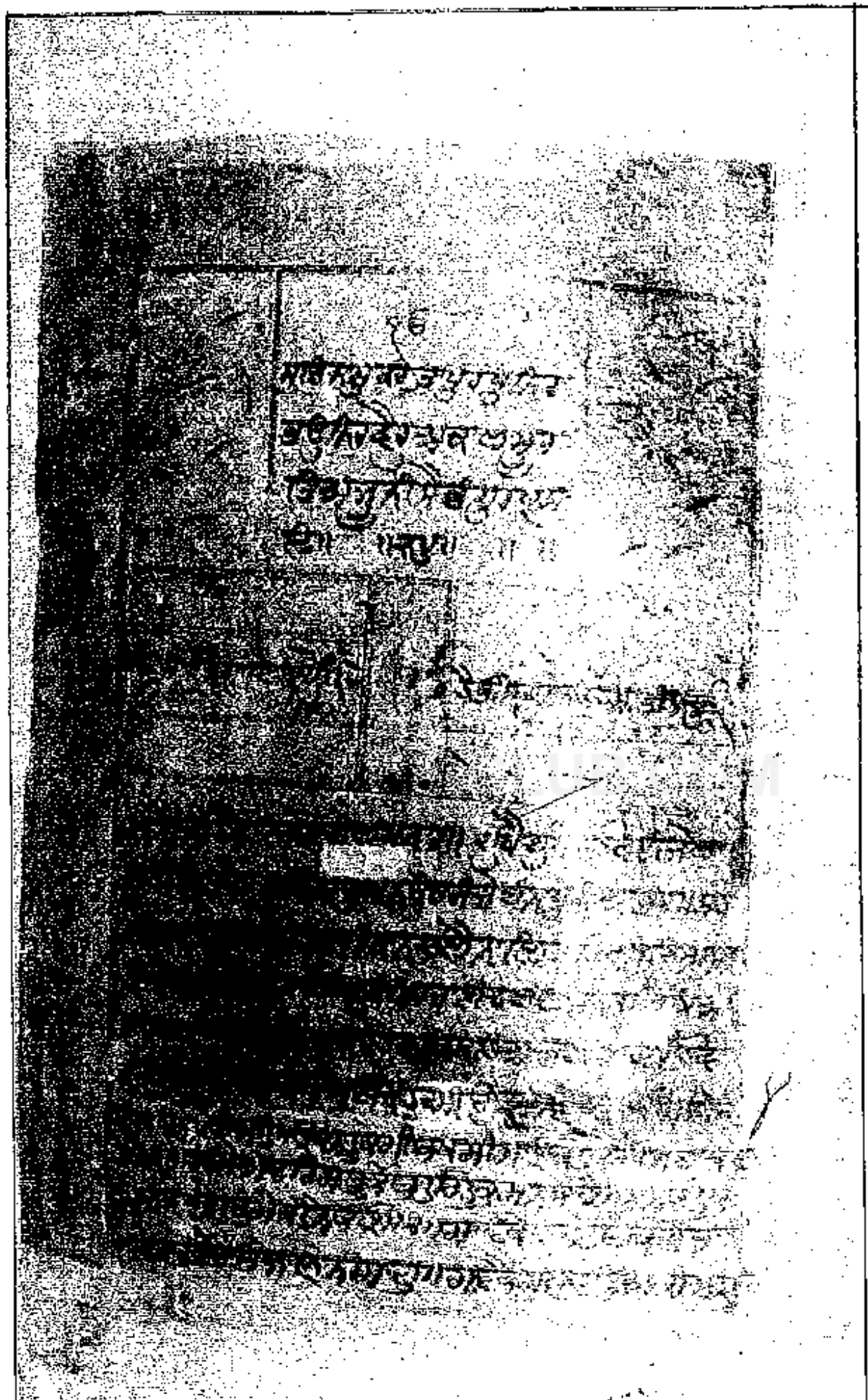
Fig.3. Facsimile of the *Japu's* page in the Kartarpuri Bir with its geometrical layout and decorative illumination. It shows an expert's hand at work. The Mulmantra in it is not in the hand of the Guru.

Mūlmantra. Its presence at the opening of the Granth brings to mind a tradition long entrenched in the customs of the Indian people. Whenever some important work, say the construction of a building, a Gurdwārā, a school or any other big project is taken in hand, its inauguration is sought to be made by a man of some high status.

The purpose is to seek his blessings . The Mūlmantra in the hand of the Fifth Gurū placed as it is in the Granth at a stray place, does not bring to mind such a picture. It is not an inaugural piece, for the *Japu* has its Mūlmantra at its head too, which is in the hand of the main scribe. Yet another snag, texts of the two Mūlmantras—one of the *nishān* (Fig. 2) and the other at the head of the *Japu* (Fig. 3)—show marked variations as given below:

Nishān	*Japu*	*Nishān*	*Japu*
ਪੁਰਖ	ਪੁਰਖੁ	ਨਿਰਵੈਰ	ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ
ਨਿਰਭਓ	ਨਿਰਭਉ	ਪਰਸਾਦਿ	ਪੁਸਾਦਿ

Purakh, nirvair, nirbhau in the Nishān have no/u/as their end-vowel, whereas in the *Japu* they have one. Likewise, /ਪ/and/ਰ/ in the *nishān* are not conjuncts, whereas in the *Japu* they are shown as conjuncts. Assuming that the Kartārpurī Bīr is, indeed, Gurū Arjun's original Bīr, a question arises: could Bhāī Gurdās have transgressed the orthographic pattern laid down by his Master? Certainly not. For that reason, it is clear that the *nishān* was not before the compiler when this Bīr was prepared. It was manipulated later on and incorporated in the Bīr to give it a facade of its being the original Bīr prepared by Bhāī Gurdās for the Fifth Master.

9. NISHĀN BY THE SIXTH GURU

The presence of the Sixth Gurū's autograph cap-

tioned, *Nisān Sri Satiguru Jīo ke Daskhat Mahalla 6*
jeopardises the claim of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ to be the
original codex prepared in AD 1604. We shall revert to
this topic in our discussion on "the Bīṛ with the anterior
most date." (Art. 14, below)

10. G.B. SINGH'S CRITERIA FOR ORIGINALITY

Bhai Jodh Singh and Daljeet Singh, both, are at pains
to assert that the three criteria laid down by G.B. Singh
for acceding the claim of originality to the Kartārpuī
Bīṛ are fulfilled by it and it alone; namely, (a) the *Japu*
in it is a direct copy of one transcribed by Gurū Rām-
dās; (b) dates of demise of the first five Gurūs are in
the hand of the original scribe, Bhāī Gurdās; and (c)
the words *sudhu* and *sudhu keechai* are in the hand of
the Fifth Gurū who supervised and compiled the Bīṛ
(*Auth*, pp. 13-14). We propose to examine these asser-
tions here at some length, one by one.

11. THE CRITERION OF DIRECT COPY

This criterion is not infallible. It may prove to be
misleading if the copyist chooses not to disclose the
sequence of the copy, or straightway lifts the, *sūchī-patra*
(contents' page) from some other bīṛ. This is what has
happened in the case of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ. Its contents'
page, as we shall soon show, has been borrowed from
the *Ādi Granth* or some copy thereof. Other cases of
lifting of the contents' page may be noticed in case of
bīṛ No. 7 (*Gāthā*, p. 210), as also No. 12 listed on page
128 of Haribhajan Singh's *Gurbānī Sampādan Nirnai*, and
in a manuscript dated 1797 BK/AD 1740 in the ken of
Joginder Singh Talwāṛā (*Gāthā*, pp. 427-28).

12. NOTING PATTERN OF DATES OF DEMISE

As for criterion (b) pertaining to the noting pattern

of dates of demise of the first five Gurūs, Daljeet Singh
is at pains to show that the date of demise of the Fifth
Gurū was written by Bhāī Gurdās on a later date. He
propounds three arguments in support of his conten-
tion : (1) non-mention of the day in the dates of demise
of the first four Gurūs but its mention in the case of
the Fifth Gurū ; (ii) difference in the shade of ink of
the Fifth Gurū's entry; and (iii) non-extension of the
head-line of Gurū Arjun's date of demise to the end
of the page, as has been done in the case of the first
four Gurūs (*Auth*, p. 14).

The frivolity of the 'non-mention of the day' argu-
ment begs no explanation. The writer of the dates of
demise could not give days in case of the first four
Gurūs, for that information was not available with him,
whereas in case of the Fifth Gurū, he could mention
the day which was in his ken . But this does not prove
that he wrote Gurū Arjun's date later on.

As regards 'difference in the shade of ink' Bhai Jodh
Singh's statement on the point is at variance with the
information supplied by Daljeet Singh in that Bhai Jodh
Singh states it to be 'in letters somewhat thinner' (*KBD*,
p. 45), whereas Daljeet Singh reports it to be in a
different shade. However, both state it to be in the same
hand as is the main Scripture. Randhir Singh, late
research scholar of the SGPC who happened to inspect
the Kartārpurī Bīṛ along with Giani Mahān Singh in 1946
states in his unpublished book "Gursabad Vigās" that
the dates of demise of the first five Gurus are found
recorded in the hand of the main scribe which thing
could not be done in the year 1661 BK/AD1604[7], for then
Gurū Arjun was still alive. What he is hinting at is that
the Kartārpurī Bīṛ is a product of post-Gurū Arjun

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[7]. ਜੋਤੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮਾਵਣ ਕਾ ਚਲਿਤ੍ਰ ਪੰਜਵੇਂ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਤਕ ਤਰੀਕਿਆਂ ਦੇ ਨਾਲ ਹੀ ਮੂਲ ਲਿਖਾਰੀ ਨੇ ਲਿਖਿਆ
ਹੈ, ਜੋ ਸੰਮਤ 1661 (1604 ਈ.) ਵਿਚ ਲਿਖਣਾ ਸੰਭਵ ਹੀ ਨਹੀਂ ਸੀ।

period.

A look at the facsimile of the concerned page of the Kartārpurī Bīr reproduced on the adjoining page (Fig.4), will show that the entry in case of the Fifth Guru vis-a-vis the other four entries above it, is neiher dim nor thin. All the five entries are written at one go. This falsifies the contentions of Bhai Jodh Singh and Daljeet Singh, both, and supports the finding of Randhir Singh.

With regard to the 'non-extension of the headline ' listed at (iii) above, Daljeet Singh's eyesight seems to have failed him. The headline in this case stands extended to not only the margin where the first four lines stop, but to a position overreaching the margin marked with arrows in the figure. Daljeet Singh's venture into manuscriptology, his personal study and verification of all the special and salient features of the Bīr (*Auth*, p.10), thus, has gone flop to the extent of being utterly unreliable.

13. SUDHU AND SUDHU KEECHAI

Now to the *Sudhu* and *Sudhu Keechai* criterion. Bhai Jodh Singh and Daljeet Singh, both, hold that these marks are in the hand of the Fifth Guru. They are taken to be the marks of final approval given by the Guru for inclusion of the piece in the Holy Scripture. Daljeet Singh writes :

> Obviously, the final approval "Sudhu" was invariably given by the Guru himself and what was an error was directed to be rectified by its ommission, obliteration, rewriting or otherwise (Sudhu Keeche) (Auth, p.5).

Late S. Randhir Singh, research scholar of SGPC, does not hold *sudhu* and *sudhu keeche* to be in the Guru's hand . He considers them to be in the hand of the main copyist . He surmises that in his zeal to have a faithful copy, he transcribed these too along with the text.

Fig.4. Facsimile of the page showing dates of demise of the Gurus. Not-with-standing the extremely marred impression of the facsimile due to detracting lamination or glare of light, it bears out fully all our contentions made on pages 89-90 of the book . In arriving at the 'the non-extension of the headline' argument, Daljeet Singh seems to have ignored the two vertical lines (marked with arrow) in the head margin, which lays down the farthest end to which the pen could go.

Approval mark *sudhu* is usually found written at the end of the vārs of the various rāgas. It is not clear whether it covers the text of the vārs only or the whole corpus of the *bānī* entered in the respective rāga. Vārs of all the rāgas in the Kartārpurī Bīr, except those of Jaitsarī, Sūhī, Mārū (M 5, Dakkhane) and Basant have this mark at the end. Of the twelve rāgas that have no vārs, only one, namely Todī has this mark (*sudhu*); the rest eleven are without it. Lack of this uniformity in the Kartārpurī Bīr creates doubt about the marks being in Gurū Arjun's hand. If they are by Gurū Arjun, they should have appeared at the end of all the rāgas. A doubt, therefore, persists that they are vestiges of some other primary source.

There is yet another big snag in accepting them to be in Gurū Arjun's hand. "Vār Rāga Rāmkali M 3" has the approval mark *sudhu* at its end, yet it is not free of mistakes. Here are a few picked up by the Tarn Taran scrutineers:

(a) Paurī 7, sloka 1 has as its heading ਸਲੋਕ 3 ਮ in place of the correct one ਸਲੋਕ ਮ: 3;

(b) Paurī 12, sloka 3 has ਅਉਹਠ ਪਟਣ in place of ਅਉਹਠ ਪਟਣ;

(c) Paurī 12, sloka 5 has as its heading "੧ ਮ" in place of the correct one 'ਮ:੧';

(d) Paurī 13, sloka 2 has ਲੇਖਾ ਰਬ ਮੰਗਸੀਆ in place of the correct ਲੇਖਾ ਰਬ ਮੰਗੇਸੀਆ;

(e) Paurī 14, sloka 1, has ਰੋਵਹਿ ਕਿਰਪ in place of the correct reading ਰੋਵਹਿ ਕਿਰਪਨ;

(f) Paurī 18, sloka 1 has ਰੋਰੀ ਦੇਇ in place of ਰੋਜੀ ਦੇਇ.

Our aim is not to pester the readers with unnecessary details but only to bring home the fact that a *bīr* that is not free from mistakes and yet has the *sudhu* mark at the end, cannot be the work of the infallible Gurū and a very competent amanuensis as Bhāī Gurdās was. It, on the other hand, proves to be an immature's copy.

14. The Bīr With The Anterior-Most Date (?)

S. Daljeet Singh contends that no other copy has ever come forward with the claim of being the original manuscript prepared by Gurū Arjun. Hence its claim to originality is undisputed (*Auth*, p.9). Quoting *Gurbilās Chhevīn Pātshāhī* and Bhai Santokh Singh of *Suraj Prakāsh* fame, both of whom have given "Sammat 1661, Bhadon Vadī ekam" as the date of the *Ādi Granth's* completion, he, at another place, asserts that the Kartārpurī Bīr is the only *bīr* which bears that date (*Abs.* Jan. 93, p. 42).

The argument of the anterior-most date may have been valid if the reference to Young Master Harigobind as Mahalla 6 had not been there. His father Gurū Arjun quit this world in AD 1606. He could become Mahalla 6 only after that and not in AD 1604. This shows that the *sūchī-patra* (contents' page) in the Kartārpurī Bīr is a borrowed document, lifted probably from the original *Ādi Granth* and incorporated in this Bīr to give it a facade of originality.

Daljeet Singh has tried to meet this objection by arguing that 'since it became abundantly clear that Guru Harigobind would succeed him, his *nishān* was allowed to go in the Holy Granth and his name to be included in the *sūchi-patra* as Mahalla 6 (*Auth*, p. 27). This argument, to say the least, is frivolous. Gurū Arjun was hardly fortyone in AD 1604, when the Granth was completed. In the natural course of events he had, at the modest estimate, yet a score of years to go; and no body can say with any amount of certainty what eventualities would have arisen by then. Hence it is presumptuous to suppose that Harigobind began to use the sobriquet Mahallā 6 during the life-time of the Fifth Gurū, i.e., even before he was formally anointed the Gurū. The usual practice to refer to the prospective Gurū in Sikh circles was 'Bābā', as is apparent from the

(1) Mulmantra as it appears on the Suchi- patra. (Folio 2/2)

(2) Mulmantra as it endorses the *Japu* (Folio 45/2)

(3) Mulmantra as it heads Raga Suhi. (Folio 541/2)

(a) Mangal as it appears at the head of the dates of demise. (Folio 41)

(b) Mangal as it appears on page 541/2- Raga Suhi

Fig.5 shows hands at work in the contents page *(suchi-patra)* and the text inside. Note the difference in the caligraphic pattern of /ਪ/ and *pra* in *gurprasad*.

appellant Bābā Gurdittā.

There is yet another and a very cogent reason. Most of the Sikh chronicles give the year 1652 BK/AD 1595 as the date of birth of Gurū Harigobind. At the time the Holy Scripture was completed in 1661 BK/AD 1604, Gurū Harigobind was yet a child, hardly eight or nine years old. It defies reason that a child of eight or nine years came to be designated as Mahalla 6 and could at that tender age, oblige the seeker with a benedictory *nishān*— a function that actually devolved on the Gurū. This argument will still stand if the year of birth of Shri Harigobind be pushed back by five years to 1647 BK/ AD 1590, as suggested by Kesar Singh Chhibbaṛ in his *Bansāwalīnāmā*.

15. SŪCHĪ-PATRA BORROWED

The *sūchī-patra* with the date, Sammat 1661 BK/AD 1604 on which Daljeet Singh lays much stress to prove the Kartārpurī Bīṛ's authenticity, when examined minutely proves to be a borrowed document. Not only that, it is in a different hand too. This can be verified by a close look at the two hands at work—one in the *sūchī-patra* and the other in the body of the text (Figures 3 and 4 respectively). Yet, for a better appraisal of the argument, the readers may please look at Fig. 5 containing facsimiles of three Mulmantras and two mangals reproduced therein. In it the Mulmantras have been culled from (1) the *sūchī-patra*, (2) the text of the *Japu* and (3) the page on which Ragā Suhi commences. The mangals are from the page containing dates of demise, Raga Suhi and the Ragamala. The figure ੧ in the *sūchi-patra* marking the initial ੴ of the Mulmantra varies in shape from the one found in the Mūlmantra and the mangals in the text inside. Much more helpful, however, in clinching the issue is the orthographic pattern of *pra*

(੫) in *gurprasad*. Whereas *pra* in the body of the text (and elsewhere also) is found written conjointly in a typical caligraphic style, in the *suchī-patra* it is found recorded severally i.e. non-conjointly. The difference is too evident to vouchsafe that the *suchi-patra* is, indeed, in a different hand and is a borrowed document.

It being a lifted document, a number of interpolations had, of necessity, to he made in it to make it conform to the contents inside. These can be located with a good amount of certainty.

The first is the entry pertaining to the Dates of Demise (*joti joti samāvane kā chalitra*). Its entry in the contents' page, we are told, is in a different hand (*KBD*, p.4). The lifted contents' page began straight with the date of completion of the Granth followed suit by the Nishān entry. The entry pertaining to the Dates of Demise found its place in between them later on, since it is reported to be in a different hand.

The second, the Tatkara Tatkare part of the contents' page was also not there in the lifted contents' page. It too was incorporated later on as is apparent from its being in a different hand (*KBD*, p.4).

The third is the entry pertaining to Rāgamālā etc. The lifted contents' page did not have this entry. It had, therefore, to be squeezed in on the narrow space between the closing "Sloka Vāran te Vadhīk" entry and the "Tatkara Tatkare " entry to make it conform to the contents of the manuscript. Evidently, the Rāgamālā etc. entry came to be inserted after the Tatkara Tatkare entry had found its place, otherwise there was no reason for the Rāgamālā entry to have gone oblique and be entered in a mutilated form as *Rāgamālā tathā Singhlādīp kī Shivnābhi Rāje ki bidhi* in place of the correct one, *Rāgamālā Haqmat tuh muqām rāje Shivnābhi kī, tathā Siāhī kī bidhi*.

The interpolation of the Ragamala etc. entry, evident-
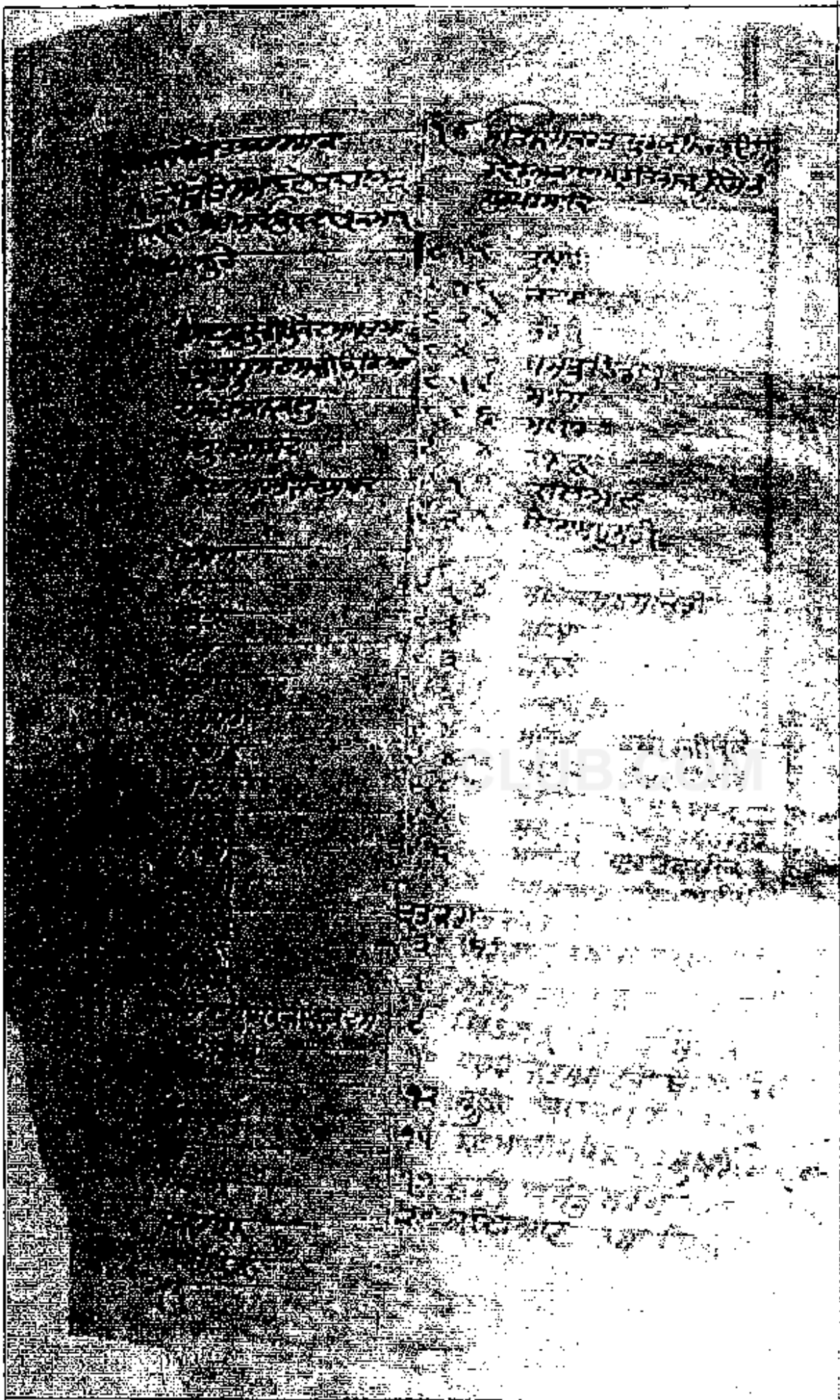
Fig.6. Facsimile of the *suchi-patra* that bears the date of the completion of the original Adi Granth, but proves to be a lifted document.

ly, took its place in the contents' page after the Tatkara Tatkare entry had been inscribed in it, which we are told is also in a different hand.

The suchi-patra (Fig. 6) contains an interesting clue showing the likely date/time when it was borrowed; in other words when the Kartarpuri Bir came up. The entry with regard to the Fifth Master in it runs : *nisān Gurū jio ke daskhat Makalla 5.* Again, the entry with regard to the *Japu* reads : *Japu Guru Ram Das jio kiā(ṅ) daskhatā(ṅ) kā nakalu.* In the case of the *nishan* of the Sixth Master however, the entry explicates: *nishāṇu Sri Guru jio ke daskhat Mahalla 6.* The point worthy of note is that the person engaged in preparing the *suchi-patra* refers to the Fifth and the Fourth Masters simply as *"Guru-jio"*, but to the Sixth Master, Sri Harigobind, as *"Srī Gurū Jio."* This extra reverence to the Sixth Guru in contrast of the Fifth and the Fourth Gurus, shows that Guru Harigobind at the time of the preparation of the *suchi-patra* was not a child nor even the prospective Guru. He was rather the full-fledged Guru—Mahalla 6 commanding utmost reverence exacted as if by a reflex action generated by the presence proximate (ਹਜੂਰੀ) of the Guru, itemised in the most reverential appellation, *Sri Guru Jio.* This pushes the date of the completion of this—the Kartarpūrī Bīr, to the time of the Sixth Guru, and also shows that the *suchi-patra* indeed is a borrowed document.

The facsimile of the *Japu* in the Granth (Fig 3) shows it to be a work of some professional scribe and not of an amateur one. Its geometrical lay-out is akin to its counterpart in Bhai Banno's Bir (1699 BK/AD 1642). The orthographic and caligraphic patterns too resemble. Its time, therefore, can be placed somewhere nearer Bhai Banno's date. At any rate, it is a product of Guru Harigobind's time and not of the Fifth Guru.

16. SABAD-TATKARA TOO BORROWED

The same story, we find, repeated in the case of the *Sabad-tatkara* (Index of Hymns) too. A check-up of its entries with the hymns in the body of the text inside, reveals that as many as nine hymns listed in para (A) below, figure prominently in the text inside, but they find no mention in the *sabad-tatkara*:

(A)

1.	ਏਕੁ ਸਿਮਰਿ ਮਨ ਮਾਹੀ	(ਆਸਾ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 148)
2.	ਜਾ ਕਉ ਭਏ ਕ੍ਰਿਪਾਲ	(ਆਸਾ ਮ: 5, ਛੰਤ 4)
3.	ਠਾਕੁਰ ਹੋਇ ਆਪਿ ਦਇਆਲ	(ਦੇਵਗੰਧਾਰੀ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 23)
4.	ਸੰਤਨ ਕੈ ਬਲਿਹਾਰੈ	(ਗੋਂਡ ਮ:5, ਚਉ 22)
5.	ਨਰ ਨਰਹੇ ਨਮਸਕਾਰ	(ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 59)
6.	ਰੂਪ ਰੰਗ ਸੁਗੰਧੁ	(ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 60)
7.	ਰਣ ਝੁੰਝਨੜਾ ਗਾਉ	(ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮ: 5, ਛੰਤ 5)
8.	ਹਰਿ ਕਾ ਨਾਮ ਧਿਆਇ	(ਬਸੰਤ ਕੀ ਵਾਰ, ਮ: 5)
9.	ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੋ ਭਗਤਿ ਬਛਲੁ	(ਮਲਾਰ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 18)

Likewise, nine hymns listed in (B) below, show marked variations (italicized) in the indexed lines and their counterparts in the text inside :

(B)

Sr. No.	Line in the Index	Variation	Reference Particulars
1.	ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ ਛੋਡਿ *ਕਾਹੇ ਲੋਭਾਨੇ*	ਬਿਖਿਆ	(ਸ੍ਰੀਰਾਗ ਮ:3, ਚਉ 12)
2.	ਆਪੁ *ਗਵਾਏ* ਤਾ ਸਭ	ਵੰਞਾਏ	(ਮਾਝ ਮ:3, ਅਸ਼ਟ 10)
3.	ਹਮ *ਭਗਵੰਤ* ਭਾਗਠ ਸਚ	ਧਨਵੰਤ	(ਗਉੜੀ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 31)
4.	ਦੁਖ ਭੰਜਨੁ ਤੇਰਾ *ਨਾਉ* ਜੀ	ਨਾਮੁ	(ਗਉੜੀ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ. 170)
5.	ਜਪਿ ਮਨ *ਹਰਿ ਰਾਮ*	ਤੂੰ	(ਗਉੜੀ ਮ: 5, ਛੰਤ 3)
6.	ਗੁਰਮੁਖਿ *ਹਿਰਦੈ* ਹਰਿ ਵੇਲ	ਹਰਿ	(ਆਸਾ ਮ: 4, ਚਉ 7)
7.	ਕੋਉ *ਬਿਖਮ* ਗਾੜ ਤੋਰੈ	ਗਾੜ	(ਆਸਾ ਮ: 4, ਚਉ 153)
8.	ਸੋ ਸਿਖੁ *ਸਖੀ* ਬੰਧਪੁ ਹੈ	ਸਖਾ	(ਸੋਰਠਿ ਮ: 3, ਚਉ 6)
9.	ਧੂਪ ਦੀਪ *ਪੂਜਾ* ਗੋਪਾਲ	ਸੇਵਾ	(ਗੋਂਡ ਮ: 5, ਚਉ 14)

Bhai Jodh Singh points to a few more discrepancies (*KBD*, p.5) which may not be gone into. Yet all these, put together, leave no doubt that the *Sabad-tatkarā* in the Kartārpurī Bīr was not prepared with reference to the text inside, but was lifted from somewhere else. This proves the indebtedness of the Kartārpurī Bīr to some other manuscript, falsifying thereby its claim to be the first- and original compilation.

Daljeet Singh is silent about the non-listing of hymns mentioned in group (A) above, but is apologetic about the hymns in group (B). He calls them "seven errors of spellings" as were bound to occur in a voluminous work as the preparation of an index of the Granth was (*Abs* . Jan . 93, p. 37).

Daljeet Singh forgets that these are not "errors of spellings" but major text-variants. Hence the inevitable conclusion of the *Sabad-tatkara* too having been lifted .

(c) Yet another proof. 'Vār Rāga Basant' in some earlier *bīrs* does not figure at all; in some, it is seen relegated to the end of the Holy Scripture. This suggests, it became a regular part of the Holy Scripture at a later date. The *Sabad-tatkara* in the Kartārpurī Bīr takes no cognizance of it, though it is very much there in the text entered at its right place. This shows that the *Sabad-tatkara* came from some earlier compilation, whereas the text of the Kartārpurī Bīr belonged to a later, improved lot.

17. Deletions, Additions And Emendations

The Kartārpurī Bīr is marred by numerous deletions, additions and emendations. Daljeet Singh takes notice of them at some length. in his book and tries to cover them up with his stock argument, repeated *ad nauseam*, that they are but the inevitable product of the original compilation that the Kartārpurī Bīr is. Talking of du-

plications and their correction by deletions he observes :

> Such a thing could happen only in the original (bīr)
> in which case either the scribe himself, i.e., Bhai
> Gurdas, or the compiler, i.e., the fifth Guru, has on
> revision found the error and got the same removed
> by scoring out the duplicate Sabad or Salok (Auth, p.
> 16).

Duplications do occur in original compilations, but these do not prove that the Kartārpurī Bīr is the original bīr prepared by Gurū Arjun Dev, for, as we have shown in section IV above, there has not been one but several sporadic attempts at compilation some of which show this phenomenon of duplication.

Again, dwelling on numerous incongruities and additions made to rectify them, Daljeet Singh informs us:

> (i) These incongruities are so large in number and
> the Bani has been written in the margin at so many
> places that all this could happen only in the original
> (bir) (Auth, p. 19)

> (ii) In the Kartarpurī Bīr, in scores of cases the
> maihla numbers were missed originally but were
> written later in small letters either in between or
> above the lines or in the margin (Auth, p. 20).

In (ii) above, Daljeet Singh is referring to the addition, at a later stage, of mahallās to slokas in vārs to indicate their authorship . It is not "in score of cases", but invariably in all cases that mahallās were added later to slokas to indicate their authorships. The recording in vārs of slokas without mahallās reflects the early-most stage of compilation of vārs. Thereafter, when mahallās came to be added to slokas, the Kartārpurī Bīr too got them as a result of revision, and decidedly, long after the original compilation was made. That a stage in the recording of vārs did exist when they bore no mahallās can still be ascertained by referring to bīr No.

5 in the *Gāthā* wherein the slokas have no mahallās to indicate their authorship.

Similar is the contention of Daljeet Singh with regard to the recording of totals (*Auth*, p. 20).

Here too Daljeet Singh's refrain that 'such a position too could never arise in a copied Granth' cuts no ice, for these additions point to the Kartārpurī Bīṛ having undergone a process of recasting and revamping with the help of some other codex.

Recalling scores of pages where the original writing has been obliterated by the use of *hartāl* (yellow paste), the writer concludes:

> . . . had the Kartarpuri Bir been a copy of the original (*bīr*), such a large number of places having required the need of scoring out or rubbing or cleaning with *Hartal* could never have arisen. (*Auth*, p. 23)

The refrain of all these deletions, additions, cuttings and emendations being a product and proof of the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir—of its being the original *Ādi Granth* prepared by Bhāī Gurdās—does not stop here. It continues to be repeated at several other places with which we need not tax our readers . We had better now examine the various assertions that have been made by the distinguished writer . First of all, we would like to quote two of his observations made in the context of the preparation of the original bīṛ:

> (a) . . . the preliminary work of collection and scrutiny was entrusted to Bhai Gurdas. The Guru himself approved its final inclusion. (*Auth*, p. 4).
> (b) In each case the *Bani* of the Gurus, collected from whatever source, was, before its final inclusion, scrutinized by Bhai Gurdas and the Guru. (*Auth*, p. 5).

May I ask Daljeet Singh (alas! he is no more with us) and his ardent supporters, how to reconcile the two

situations stated above— of the plethora of deletions, additions and corrections made in the text, and of the close scrutiny made by Bhāī Gurdās and the Gurū himself. These two are totally at variance with each other? Can supervision of an infallible Guru be so lax as to allow scores and hundreds of omissions and commissions to creep in the body of so important a Granth? Or, could a work of so talented an amanuensis as Bhāī Gurdās was, be so slip-shod to have allowed hundreds of mistakes creep in? Certainly "not"!

I apprehend, Daljeet Singh's supporters and Daljeet Singh himself too (if he were alive), would have hauled me up by claiming that the two quotes I have reproduced above, were slated to cover only the genuineness of the Bānī— its really being by the Gurū or by the Bhagat chosen for inclusion in the Granth; or, in other words, to spot out apocrypha and eliminate them . If this be so, I would ask, how all those hymns were entered that now stand penned through, or deleted by crossing, and not erased with *hartāl*. To pick up just one example, how come, the below mentioned hymn, was first entered and subsequently deleted :

ਦੇਖਹੁ ਲੋਗਾ ਹਰਿ ਕੀ ਸਗਾਈ ॥
ਆਂ ਹਰਿ ਪੂਤ ਧੀਆ ਸੰਗ ਜਾਈ ॥ ੧ ॥ ਰਹਾਉ ॥
ਹਮਹਿ ਬਾਪ ਰਾਮ ਪੂਤ ਹਮਾਰਾ ॥
ਮੈ ਬਹਨੋਈ ਰਾਮੁ ਮੇਰਾ ਸਾਰਾ ॥ ੧ ॥
ਅਬ ਮੇਰੀ ਰਾਮੁ ਕਹੋਤੀ ਬਲਦੀਆ ॥
ਰਾਮ ਮੇਰੇ ਸਸੁਰ ਮੈ ਰਾਮ ਜਵਈਆ ॥ ੨ ॥
ਕਹਤ ਕਬੀਰ ਸੁਨਹੁ ਰੇ ਪੂਤਾ ॥
ਰਾਮ ਜਪਹਿ ਤੋਈ ਨਰ ਕੂਤਾ ॥ ੩ ॥

This hymn of Kabīr is so patently out of tune with the Sikh thought and ideology that no Sikh Gurū, much less Gurū Arjun, would ever countenance its inclusion

in the Sikhs' Holy Scripture. The Sikhs in their expression of love towards Lord God, the True, always opt for the subdued emotion of a meek lady (*dāsabhāva*); not even for the emotion of an equal partner (*sakhā-bhāva.*). How could then Gurū Arjuṅ have allowed the inclusion of such a libellous hymn in his Holy Scripture as the above piece is?

Yet another instance relates to the inclusion of Mīrā Bāī's hymn. It cannot be said that Gurū Arjun first allowed its inclusion and later on ordered its expungement. Likewise, inclusion first of Gurū Arjun's own hymn, *hari Jan līne prabhu chhudāe*— Rāga Āsā; (Kartarpuri Bir, folio 306/2) and then its deletion by crossing it, is still very enigmatic. A question arises whether the Fifth Gurū himself did not know that this particular hymn was not by him . This shows that this compilation is not the one said to have been supervised by the Fifth Gurū himself. This fact alone is sufficient to demolish the Kartārpurī Bir's claim to be the original *Ādi Granth*.

Daljeet Singh's contention, thus, is wrong. These deletions, additions and corrections cannot be invoked to prove the genuineness of the Kartārpurī Bīr. They can be taken to be and, indeed, they are, the result of an independent primary compilation, later on sought to be recast into the mould of another Granth, possible of the "Ādi Bīr." Seven vestigial footprints discerned by the present writer in the Kartārpurī Bīr and detailed on page 450 of the *Gāthā*, confirm this view. The recording of mahallās on slokas of vārs, rewriting of new material by obliterating the earlier writing, supply of mangals and of the totalling numerals, in fact all those things that Daljeet Singh regards as evidence of the genuineness of the Kartārpurī Bīr are in reality the result of a check-up of some primary compilation that the

Kartarpuri codex was, with the original *Adi Granth* or some defective copy thereof.

18. CHECK-UP WITH ANOTHER BIR CONFIRMED

The check-up of the Kartārpruī Bīṛ with some other *bīṛ* is confirmed by the Tarn Taran team of collators. They worked on it for about fourteen weeks beginning with October 19, 1924, and ending on January 9, 1925. The note under the date 29.11.24 (Wednesday) in their Diary reads :

/ੳ/ appears at places with its respective sign, *aunkar* and at some without it . On page 90 (of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ) in the right hand half, the second chaupadā had /ੳ/ in ਵਿਛੁੰਨੀ ਕਿੳ ਮਿਲੈ its pertinent sign, *aunkar*. This *aunkar* now stands obliterated with the yellow paste. This shows that the present *bīṛ* had been checked up with some other *bīṛ*. It is to be noted that /ੳ/ in the word ਹੳਮੈ has pertinently no *aunkar* sign with it at many places . For this reason /ੳ/ without *aunkar* has either some specific significance or it is just to emphasise that /ੳ/ and /ੳ/ mean one and the same thing[8].

The point at issue was that/ੳ/ with the *aunkar* in 'ਵਿਛੁੰਨੀ ਕਿੳ ਮਿਲੈ' and in ਹੳਮੈ was a correct recording. Removal of *aunkar* was obviously effected under compulsion of a check-up with some *bīṛ* that had /ੳ/ without *aunkar* but was wrongly thought to be authentic. That such a *bīṛ* did exist which had /ੳ/ transcribed without the *aunkar* sign can be vouchsafed by referring to a *bīṛ* dated 1797 BK/AD 1740 in the ken of S. Joginder Singh Talwāṛā; which claims to be a copy of the original Ādī Bīṛ. Latter /ੳ/ used at places without its proper sign (the *aunkar*) and intended to give the sound /u/ is a feature of the "Sāranke Granth" listed at No. 20 in the *Gāthā*, too.

[a.] For original wording recorded in the Diary, see Gāthā, p. 181.

.Yet another clue confirming Kartārpurī Bīṛ's check-up with some other *bīṛ* is provided by the verse—

ਵਸੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਪਿਆਰਿਆ ਵਸੁ ਮੇਰੇ ਗੋਵਿੰਦਾ

The Tarn Taran team tells us that Kartārpurī Bīṛ (folio 174) had originally *govindā* (ਗੋਵਿੰਦਾ) with the nasal sign (*tippī*) on it . Later on, it was changed to read *govidā* (ਗੋਵਿਦਾ) by removing the nasal sound represented by *tippi* (˙) with *hartāl*, the yellow paste. A correct reading rendered wrong! Yet another instance of a similar unwarranted correction . On page 472 of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ, a correct heading ਸੋਰਠਿ ਮਹਲਾ ੫ is seen to have been changed with *hartāl* to read ਸੋਰਟਿ in place of ਸੋਰਠਿ. There are many other instances of unwarranted corrections. Rendering correct readings wrong by the use of *hartāl* cannot be said to be the work of an expert amanuensis like Bhāī Gurdās, nor could it have the sanction of Gurū Arjun. They are, indeed, the result of a misplaced check-up of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ by some novice with some other codex.

19. THE VITAL-MOST TEST

The vital-most test for determining the authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ must be the correctness of its text. The tradition holds that it was prepared by Bhāī Gurdās under the direct supervision of Gurū Arjun. We, the Sikhs, believe in the infallibility of our Gurū and regard Bhāī Gurdās as the most competent amanuensis of his time. Daljeet Singh too, at several places in his book concedes that in each case the *bānī* before its inclusion in the Granth was carefully scrutinized by Bhai Gurdas and the Guru himself. The final approval was invariably given by the Gurū (*Auth*, pp. 4-5).

When we look at the Kartārpurī Bīṛ from this angle,
we are sorely disappointed. First, several objectionable
hymns, first entered and then penned through, stare in
our face. Secondly, numerous deletions, corrections and
emendations hopelessly mar the above picture. Lastly,
even after having undergone countless alterations and
corrections, according to Daljeet Singh at the hands of
Bhāī Gurdās and the compiler, i.e., Gurū Arjun (*Auth.*,
p. 16), the Bir continues to be as poor a specimen of
work as we shall feel ashamed of presenting to the
world as a work of a highly competent amanuensis like
Bhāī Gurdās, much less an infallible Gurū of the calibre
of Sri Gurū Arjun Dev. This is the biggest snag in
accepting it as the original Bīṛ.

Of the people as had examined the Kartārpurī Bir
at close quarters and have left their findings behind
them, Mannā Singh *Pāṭhī* is the first. Over two hundred
text-variants spotted by him are given in Lal Singh of
Sangrur's book, *Gurū Granth Sāhib de Kaṭhin Pāṭhān dī
Kunjī*. Late Sant Gurbachan Singh Khālsā Bhindrānwālā
too has left a list of eighty-six text-variants alongwith
a note that their actual number is more than fifteen
hundred . All the text-variants listed by them cannot be
labelled as "errors", for many of them represent the
proclivities of the scribes, yet the number of those as
cannot be defended in any way and have to be admitted
and labelled as "grave errors," is quite large. Here are
a few examples out of the list given by Sant Gurbachan
Singh Khālsā Bhindrānwālā, in his book *Gurbānī Pāṭh
Darshan*. The numerals in the first column represent the
page of the current Holy Granth and the line respec-
tively where from the quote has been taken. The incorrect
text of the Kartarpuri Bīr appears in italics and against
it is given the correct text in brackets :

54/3	ਦੁਇ ਕਰ ਜੋੜਿ *ਖਰੀ* (ਖੜੀ) ਤਕੈ ਸਚੁ ਕਹੈ ਅਰਦਾਸਿ॥
62/1	ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਚਾ ਮਨਿ ਵਸੈ ਨਾਮੁ ਭਲੋ ਪਤਿ *ਸਾਝੁ* (ਸਾਖੁ)॥
136/15	ਸੇਵੀ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੁ ਆਪਣਾ, ਹਰਿ ਸਿਮਰੀ ਦਿਨ ਸਭਿ ਰੈਣ॥
	ਆਪੁ ਤਿਆਗਿ ਸਰਣੀ ਪਵਾਂ, ਮੁਧਿ ਬੋਲੀ ਮਿਠੜੇ *ਵੇਣ* (ਵੈਣ)॥
143/18	*ਹਮ* (ਤੁਮਾ) *ਜੋਰ* (ਜੋਰੈ) ਜਿਮੀ ਦੁਨੀਆ ਪੀਰਾ ਮਸਾਇਕਾ ਰਾਇਆ॥
	ਮੈ ਰਵਦਿ ਬਾਦਿਸਾਹਾ ਅਫਜੂ *ਖੁਦਾਇ* (ਖੁਦਾਇਆ)॥
154/1	ਜੋ ਤਿਸੁ ਭਾਟਾ ਸੋਈ ਹੂਆ॥ ਅਵਰ ਨ *ਕਹਣੈ* (ਕਰਣੈ) ਵਾਲਾ ਦੂਆ॥
323/18	ਤੂੰ ਪਿੰਜਰੁ ਹਉ *ਸੂਆਟਾ* (ਸੂਅਟਾ) ਤੋਰ॥ ਜਮੁ ਮੰਜਾਰ ਕਹਾ ਕਰੇ ਮੋਰ॥
442/14	ਵਣਜਾਰੇ ਇਕ ਭਾਤੀ ਆਵਹਿ, ਲਾਹਾ ਹਰਿ *ਰਾਮੁ* (ਨਾਮੁ) ਲੈ ਜਾਹੇ॥
524/15	*ਤਰਨਾ* (ਤਨਨਾ) ਬੁਨਨਾ ਸਭੁ ਤਜਿਓ ਹੈ ਕਬੀਰ॥
721/12	ਭਉ ਤੇਰਾ ਭਾਂਗ ਖਲੜੀ ਮੇਰਾ ਚੀੜਾ॥
	ਮੈ ਦੀਵਾਨਾ ਭਇਆ *ਤੀਤ* (ਅਤੀਤੁ)॥
817/12	ਕਰੁ ਹਰਿ ਮਸਤਕਿ ਥਾਪਿਆ *ਨਾਮੁ* ਦੀਨੋ ਜਾਨਿ (ਦਾਨਿ)॥
968/9	ਧੰਨੁ ਸੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਥਾਨੁ ਹੈ, ਸਚੁ ਤੇਰਾ ਪੇਸਕਾਰਿਆ॥
	ਨਾਨਕੁ ਤੂ ਲਹਣਾ ਤੂ ਹੈ, ਗੁਰੁ *ਅਮਰੁ* (ਅਮਰ) ਤੂ ਵੀਚਾਰਿਆ॥

Now, a few examples from the list prepared by Bhāi Mannā Singh *Pāṭhi*. The readings of the Kartarpuri Bir appear in italics:

152/4	ਮੁਈ *ਸੁਰਤਿ* (ਸੁਰਤਿ) ਬਾਦੁ ਅਹੰਕਾਰ॥
	ਓਹ ਨ ਮੂਆ ਜੋ ਦੇਖਣਹਾਰੁ॥
260/11	ਭਾਵੈ ਖਸਮ ਤ ਉਆ ਸੁਖੁ ਦੇਤਾ॥
	ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮੁ ਐਸੋ *ਆਗਨਤਾ* (ਆਗਨੇਤਾ)॥
346/12	ਮੈ ਸਈ ਕੋਉ ਨ ਕਹੈ ਸਮਝਾਇ॥
	ਜਾਤਿ (ਜਾ ਤੇ) ਆਵਾਗਵਨੁ ਥਿਲਾਇ॥
463/16	ਤਿਥੈ *ਸਚੇ* (ਸਚੈ) ਹੀ ਸਚਿ ਨਿਬੜੈ, ਚੁਣਿ ਵਖਿ ਕਢੇ ਜਜਮਾਲਿਆ॥
578/8	ਏਹਿ ਜੀਅ ਤੇਰੇ ਤੂ ਕਰਤਾ ਰਾਮ॥
	ਪ੍ਰਭ ਦੂਖ ਦਰਦ ਭ੍ਰਮ *ਕਹਤਾ* (ਹਰਤਾ) ਰਾਮ॥
634/11	ਅਸੰਖ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ *ਕਹਹਿ* (ਕਰਹਿ) ਬੈਰਾਗ,
	ਸੋ ਬੈਰਾਗੀ ਜਿ ਖਸਮੈ ਭਾਵੈ॥
779/12	ਤੁਮ ਗਉਹਰ ਅਤਿ ਗਹਿਰ ਗੰਭੀਰਾ,
	ਤੁਮ ਪਿਰ *ਹਮਾ* (ਹਮ) ਬਹੁਰੀਆ ਰਾਮ॥
822/3	ਚੀਤਿ *ਚਿਤਉ* (ਚਿਤਵਉ) ਜੈਸੇ ਪਾਨ ਤੰਬੋਲੀ॥
889/1	*ਡਿਗਿ* (ਡਿਗੈ) ਨ ਡੋਲੈ ਕਤਹੂ ਨ ਧਾਵੈ॥

1000/14	ਥੋਰੀ ਸੰਗਿ ਰੰਗ ਰਸਿ ਰਚਿਆ,
	ਤਿਸੁ ਸਉ ਜੀਅਰਾ *ਜਾਰਸਿ* (ਜਾਰਸਿ) ਰੇ ॥
1013/2	ਨਿੰਦਾ ਕਹਿ ਕਰਿ ਨਰਕ ਨਿਵਾਸੀ
	ਅੰਤਰਿ *ਆਤਮ* (ਆਤਮੁ) ਜਾਪੈ ॥
1038/1	ਸਾਮ ਵੇਦੁ *ਰੂਗ* (ਰਿਗੁ) ਜੁਜਰੁ ਅਥਰਬਣੁ ॥
1212/3	ਰਿਦਾ ਪੁਨੀਤ ਰਿਦੈ ਹਰਿ ਬਸਿਓ
	ਮਸਤ (ਮਸਤਕ) ਪੁਨੀਤ ਸੰਤ ਧੂਰਾਵਾ ॥
1300/14	*ਮਾਨ* (ਮਨ) ਤਨੁ ਧਨੁ ਪ੍ਰਾਨ
	ਪ੍ਰਭ ਕੇ ਸਿਮਰਤ ਦੁਖੁ ਜਾਇ ॥
1330/15	ਮਸਟਿ *ਕਰਉ* (ਰਹਉ) ਮੂਰਖੁ ਜਗਿ ਕਹੀਆ ॥
1372/10	ਉਚ ਭਵਨ *ਕਨਕਾਮਨੀ* (ਕਨਕ ਕਾਮਨੀ)
	ਸਿਖਰਿ ਧੁਜਾ ਫਹਰਾਇ ॥

The examples reproduced above are not text-variants.
They are errors serious enough to indict any writer.
These do not exhaust the list . Other writers, as had
examined the Bīṛ, have also left their findings. Late
Randhir Singh, SGPC research scholar writes that the
writer of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ has made profuse use of
the nasal sound in Vār Rāga Malār and even at places
not necessary. For instance:

1) *ਉਨਵਿ ਉਨਵਿ* ਆਇਆ ਅਵਰ ਕਰੇਂਦਾ ਵੰਨ;

2) ਗੁਰਮਤੀ ਸਬਦ ਸੂਰ *ਹੈਂ* ਕਾਮ ਕਰੋਧ ਜਿਨ ਮਾਰਿਆ।

3) ਕਿਆ ਉਠਿ ਉਠਿ ਦੇਖਹੁ *ਬਪੜੋਂ* . . . .

The words italicised did not need the nasal sign.

The use of the nasal sign in Rāga Kānṛā is also very
profuse. At certain places, where it should have been
used, it is missing. This use of the nasal sound, rep-
resented by *biṅdī* in Punjabi orthography is not a feature
of the earlier *bīṛs* . Its presence in the Kartārpurī Bīṛ
decidedly pushes its preparation to a much later date.
Had it been the earliest compilation, as is claimed by
its supporters, its use in subsequent copies would have
been ubiquitous, but it is not so.

The use of *kanauṛā* (ˇ) in the Gurmukhī script, according to Randhir Singh, developed during the time of Gurū Tegh Bahādur. Its appearance in the Kartārpurī Bīr at a few places pushes its time to a date much later than what is claimed for it.

Randhir Singh has taken note of many irregular and even funny headings found in the Kartārpurī Bīr, re-produced by us in the *Gāthā* (pp. 196-197). One such heading is :

ਵਾਰ ਮਲਾਰ ਕੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ਰਾਣੇ ਕੈਲਾਸ਼ ਕੀ ਧੁਨਿ ਤਥਾ ਮਲਦੇ

The correct one being :

ਵਾਰ ਮਲਾਰ ਕੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ਰਾਣੇ ਕੈਲਾਸ ਤਥਾ ਮਾਲਦੇ ਕੀ ਧੁਨਿ

Another heading that perplexes the inquisitive reader is:

ਰਾਮਕਲੀ ਮਹਲਾ ੧ ਦਖਣੀ ਓਅੰਕਾਰ

It is Rāmkalī that is Dakhinī and not the Oamkār .

Harnam Das Udasin too complains of a large number of errors, two of which he has pertinently stated:

508/12 ਦੇਤ (ਨੇਤ/ਨੇਤੁ) ਦਰਸਨੁ ਸੁਵਨ ਹਰਿ ਜਸ ਰਸਨਾ ਨਾਮ ਉਚਾਰ॥
1392/14 ਸੁ ਕਹੁ ਟਲ (ਕਲ) ਗੁਰ ਸੇਵੀਅੰ . . .

The correct readings of these as given in brackets above, are available in several hand-written manuscripts.

Not only errors quoted by us on the authority of Bhāī Mannā Singh *Pāthī* but lots of more, equally puzzling and taxing, may be seen reported in the Diary of the Tarn Taran team. They, however, have hesitated to lable them as errors. For them they are just text-variants. This is due to their firm faith in the Bīr's being a work of Bhāī Gurdās. Yet the discrepancies, the oddities of the text-variants, plethora of additions, deletions and emendations, and the slip-shodiness of the work appears to have left them puzzled, for in the note bearing date

1.1.25 (Thursday) it is recorded "Bhai Narain Singh went back by the 2 p.m. train. [Before he left] we prayed, 'Let secrets of Bābā Jī (the Ādi Bīṛ) remain with Bābā Jī!'

20. THE SAGA OF DHUNĪS

As per information provided by Bhai Jodh Singh five vārs (Vadhans, Ramkalī, Sārang and Kānṛā) had their tunes (dhunīs) inscribed on them simultaneously with the text; the rest four had had their tunes entered later on. Daljeet Singh presumes that the latter insertions were done at the instance of the Sixth Gurū (Auth, p. 28). If so, all the deletions, additions and emendations which are in the same hand as the added tunes, are but a post-Gurū Arjun phenomenon potent enough to falsify the claim of the Bīṛ to have been completed in AD 1604.

21. LONE HEADINGS

The Kartārpurī Bīṛ has what are known as lone headings. They usually take the form of the name of the rāga accompanied by the mahallā, for example, "Todi Mahallā 5". They appear at the close of the last sections of certain rāgas. Daljeet Singh regards them as headings written in anticipation of hymns likely to flow in the near future from the pen of Gurū Arjun who was still alive (Auth, p. 23). This is a fanciful conjecture of Daljeet Singh, untenable to the point of being ridiculous. How did Bhāī Gurdās know that the next hymn that was to come from the pen of Gurū Arjun, was to relate to that particular rāga under which that lone heading appears? Did Gurū Arjun advise him to that effect? Could he have the cheek to tell the Gurū that his next hymn must come in such and such rāga only? The truth

of the matter is that they are the headings written by compilers in search of stray hymns.

Daljeet Singh's assertion that 'such recording of headings only, without being followed by related *bāṇī*, is not to be seen in any other hand-written *bīṛ*, again is wrong. MS 1245 of the GNDU has many such lone headings. They are indeed a common feature of earlier codices embodying primary collections.

22. Tatkara Tatkare

Likewise, Daljeet Singh's statement that 'among all the hand-written *bīṛs*, this (the Kartārpurī Bīṛ) is the only *bīṛ* that has a third Tatkara called *Tatkarā Tatkare* (*Auth*, p. 26) is totally wrong. This is not a rare phenomenon. Almost all earlier *bīṛs*, we have taken notice of in our book (*Gāthā*), have this third *tatkarā*. The Kartārpurī Bīṛ too, as we have seen above (Art 15) got it later by lifting it from some other codex.

23. Orthographic Pattern

Two salient orthographic features of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ have already been noted . The first is the use, at a few places, of the conjunct vowel *kanaura* ( ) in place of the earlier practice of using the vowel sounds /a/ and /u/ placed in juxtaposition,/ਅਉ/. The use of the above-mentioned typical sign (*kanaurā*) is not to be found in earlier codices, namely Bābā Mohan Pothīs, Gurū Hari Sahāi Pothī, MS 1245 (GNDU) and the anterior parts of the Bāhowal Pothī. So is the case with *bindī* representing the nasal sound. The Kartārpurī Bīṛ abounds in its use whereas none of the earlier codices show it. This shows the Kartārpurī Bīṛ to be a later product and not of the year AD 1604.

24. THE PAGINATION PATTERN

Bhāi Jodh Singh, in his book, *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan* points to thirteen instances where the pagination pattern envisaged by him conflicts with the one that the pages actually bear (*KBD*, p. ਤ). Bhai Jodh Singh tries to explain this discrepancy with reference to eight page section *(sainchī)* numbers and Daljeet Singh agrees with him (*Auth*, pp. 11-12). Yet, Bhai Jodh Singh's own explanation fails him when he tries to explain the appearance of folio 317 in place of one marked by him as 316/2. He writes:

> This 317 represents the *sainchī* folio. It means the end of 38th *sainchī* and the commencement of the 39th (*KBD*, p. 68).

Now $38 \times 8 = 304$; the thirty-ninth *sainchī* had perforce to begin with 312. And if it be taken to mean the completion of the 39th and the commencement of the 40th, the folio number would have been 313. If we go one step further, it should have been 321. At any rate, it could never have been 317. This shows that originally the folios assigned to the Granth were on the classical pattern so that the front and the hind page put together made one leaf *(patrā)*. Daljeet Singh's attempts to explain away incongruities of pagination are thus mere wasted labour. They do not reflect the actual situation.

25. CONCLUSIONS

(i) Our detailed examination of all claims made for the originality of the Kartārpurī Bīr does not confirm it to be the Granth that was prepared by Gurū Arjun with the assistance of Bhāi Gurdās. The *nishān* in it does not partake of the character of an inaugural piece, nor is it an approval mark as Daljeet Singh expects such

a *nishān* to be (*Auth*, p. 45). Besides it is a pasted document with no other counterfoil to prove its genuineness.

(ii) Its being a *bīŗ* with the anteriormost date also cuts no ice for, as we have shown it, the contents' page which has this date, is a lifted document . The presence in it of an entry referring to Mahalla 6 pushes it to a period much later than AD 1604.

(iii) Numerous deletions, additions, emendations and the large number of errors that the Bīŗ still has (*Art.* 19) fit ill Daljeet Singh's repeated assertion that in each case the *Bānī* of the Gurūs, collected from whatever source, was, before its final inclusion scrutinized by Bhāī Gurdās and the Gurū' (*Auth*, p. 5).

In face of this assertion of careful scrutiny by the infallible Gurū, it becomes much more difficult to answer how a hymn like Kabir's *dekho logā hari kī sagāī* and Mīrā's hymn first got entered in the *bīŗ* and then were crossed. This shows that this *bīŗ* is not the one that was prepared by the Gurū.

(iv) In our view the Kartārpurī Bīŗ is an independent compilation embodying material lifted from primary collections. This is confirmed by the seven vestigial footprints found in it . This independent compilation was later on cast most probably into the mould of the *Ādi Granth* that was preapred by Gurū Arjun or of some other copy thereof.

(v) Our study of the Kartārpurī Bīŗ's orthographic and caligraphic patterns place its preparation somewhere near AD 1640. The additions and corrections noted in the newly added margin (which event could take place only some five decades after the preparation of the Scripture) seems to confirm this conclusion beyond an iota of doubt.

26. Contentions And Rebuttals

The January 1993 issue of the *Abstracts of Sikh Studies*(hereafter referred to as *Abs.* Jan., 93 in its abbreviated form) has as editorial captioned "Blasphemous Attacks". Its Section IV, captioned "Piar Singh's Blasphemous Publication", deals exclusively with my book *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth* and me. The editiorial, as can easily be judged by those who are familiar with S . Daljeet Singh's works and idiom, is by none other than the Patriarch himself, though it pretends to be by the editor, Dr. Kharak Singh Mann. I propose here to deal with it very briefly.

Contention 1. "The *nishān* and instructions *(sudhu* and *sudhu keechai*) are in Gurū 's own hand" (*Abs.*, Jan 93, p. 35).

Answer : Our study of these does not bear this out (Arts . 7, 8, 15).

Contention 2. "Charge of *tatkara* having been planted from elsewhere is baseless and utenable. All the scholars— Dr. Archer, Dr. Loehlin, Dr . Jodh Singh, Mahan Singh, Principal Haribhajan Singh, Master Ishar Singh, Narain Singh, Daljeet Singh and even Pashaura Singh— who have examined the *bīr* critically, have accepted its genuineness, because of its being in the same hand as the manuscript and being a part of the paged body of the Granth" (*Abs.*, Jan., 93, p. 36).

Answer : The *tatkara* is definitely a planted document lifted from somewhere else (Art 13). Of the persons that have, according to the editorial, testified to the genuineness of the Kartārpurī Bīr, Dr. Archer and Dr. Loehlin, according to the testimony of Daljeet Singh himself, have had no more than a mere look at the *bīr*. (*Auth*, p. 56).

Dr. Bhai Jodh Singh and Mahān Singh went to it

always with some specific problem and not to ascertain its genuineness. They proceeded with the firm conviction that the Kartārpurī Bīṛ is the original *bīṛ* prepared by Gurū Arjun . The problem they carried with them was solved with reference to it and there ended their quest .

Principal Haribhajan Singh believed in its genuineness as a matter of expediency. Whenever asked about the authenticity of the *bīṛ*, his reply was always frank and candid : "We Sikhs have a rare claim of being in possession of a Holy Granth authenticated by the Gurū himself; why destroy that claim?" The argument touches the heart, but what is to be done when the *bīṛ*, instead of solving some problem, lands the inquistive reader into some blind alley?

Master Ishar Singh and Narain Singh from whose Diary we have quoted frequently, went to Kartārpur to correct their own copy of the Granth with reference to it. They had not gone there to assess the Bir's genuineness. Yet they became sceptic of it when a number of readings contrary to the prevalent and generally accepted versions came their way. This, they expressed in their prayer "Let secrets of the Bābā (the Ādi Bīṛ) remain buried in Bābā's bosom!" (Art., 19). This is the spontaneous reaction of the two devout and unsuspecting Sikhs.

As for Daljeet Singh, his adventure into manuscriptology , as we have shown above, has proved to be absolutely unreliable (Art.,12).

Pashaura Singh's name in the list, I am afraid does not bring any credit to the editor's mentor, S . Daljeet Singh, for he himself had been taking him to task for the last three years for his incorrect understanding of Bābā Mohan Pothis and of Guru Nanak Dev University MS 1245. It was his hurried acceptance of the Kartarpurī

Bīr as genuinely original that was, I believe, responsible for landing him in trouble.

Contention 3. "Piar Singh is the sole person who seeks to attack the original on the basis of incorrect copies, i.e., for the faults and discrepancies of the copyists he blames the fifth Master, and rejects the original" (*Abs.*, Jan., 93, p. 40)

Answer : The Editor's contention implies that the Kartārpurī Bīr is the only correct copy and all other copies are incorrect. He is grossly mistaken in this. It is one thing to make a statement and another to prove it. Anyway, it is for any body to cast a look at Arts. 17, 18 and 19 in this book and judge for himself which readings are incorrect — Kartārpurī Bīr's or Damdamī's. As for blaming the Fifth Master, the boot is on the other foot, for notwithstanding a large number of glaring mistakes, Daljeet Singh holds the Kartārpurī Bīr to be the original *Ādi Granth* which is tantamount to attributing a defective work to the infallible Gurū—an idea atonce abhorrent to the Sikh mind. It is, thus, Daljeet Singh and not Piar Singh, who by ascribing a defective work to the Gurū, is out to dishonour him.

Contention 4. "Kartārpurī Bīr is the unshakeable and authentic base of the Gurū Granth Sahib". Again, "It is the Kartārpurī Bīr that is the base of Guru Granth Sahib, our living Gurū " (*Abs* . Jan ., 93, pp. 41 and 42).

Answer : The Holy Word left to us by the Gurūs as also of Saints approved by them, is the Sikh's living Gurū . The Granth is to be revered as repository of that Word and not for its paper, ink or other paraphernalia. Tradition holds Gurgaddī to have been bestowed on the Damdamī Bīr. On that count the Kartārpurī Bīr may have all reverence from us but not the Gurū's status; more so when it is a fake copy and not the original *Ādi Granth* prepared by Bhāī Gurdās. The late National

Professor of Sikhism, Sirdar Kapur Singh states categor-
ically that the *bīr* which the Sodhis of Kartarpur have,
is a fake one[9].

Contention 5. "Piar Singh's entire work is based on
Post-Fifth Guru Manuscripts . . . he admits he has not
seen the Kartarpuri manuscript" (Abs. Jan., 93, p.42).

Answer : Daljeet Singh's charge that I have not seen
the *bīr* with my own eyes and yet have chosen to write
against it, should now cut no ice after the documentary
evidence that I have produced in this work. Indeed, I
am now in a position to say that I have seen the *bīr*
not with two eyes, but over a dozen— all extremely
discerning and dependable.

Contention 6. "Still more relevant and important are
the clear and close links among the trio of Drs . Mcleod,
Pashaura Singh and Piar Singh" (*Abs.*, Jan., 93, pp. 39-
40).

Answer : Reading into motives and seeing ghosts of
conspiracy is the trait of all fundamentalists . It reminds
of the poverty of their thought and the easiest way to
play with the sentiments of the gullible Sikhs . God help
them!

ਕਪੂਰ ਸਿੰਘ, "ਸਦਕਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਾਖੀ ਪੋਥੀ", *ਸੀਸ ਗੰਜ*, ਜਿਲਦ 34, ਅੰਕ 7, ਜੁਲਾਈ 1994, ਪੰਨਾ 14.

MS 1245 (GNDU)

1. TIRADE AGAINST THE BĪṚ

MS 1245[1] of the Guru Nanak Dev University is the most maligned *bīṛ* of the Chandigarh coterie of scholars . It has along with Mohan Pothīs miserably got on their nerves ever since its notice was taken by Pashaura Singh in his unpublished thesis, "The Text and the Meaning of the Ādi Granth". To reject it they have brought out a number of articles, two of which merit our immediate attention . One of them is "Blasphemous Attacks" in *Abstracts of Sikh Studies* (January 1993), and the other is "The Myth of an Early Draft" by Dr. Balwant Singh Dhillon in the July 93 issue of the same journal. In both the articles the approach adopted, phraseology used, arguments advanced and the conclusions arrived at, betray the invisible hand of Late S. Daljeet Singh. The same contentions are found repeated in articles by Gurtej Singh (*Spokesman*, March 94), Bachittar Singh Giani (*Sikh Review*, April 94) and Late Dr. Trilochan Singh in *Ernest Trumpp and W.H. Mcleod*. All these articles referred to here are directed mostly against Dr. Pashaura Singh's findings and formulations. MS 1245, however, invariably finds mention in them.

A detailed study of the manuscript's contents and peculiar characteristics have already been made in the "Abstracts" part of this work. Here I propose to dwell on the misgivings the above writers have tried to spread against it.

[1.] For its detailed contents and peculiar features, see pp.22-27, above.

2. Not a Mīnā Work

Struck with the affinity of this manuscript's *Japu* with that of Miharban's as found in his exegesis, the Chandigarh coterie of scholars have been crying themselves hoarse that MS 1245 is a Mīnā work. This is far from truth. On the affinity of mere *Japu* with the Mīnā's text, this work cannot be branded a Mīnā product . That version of the *Japu*, as I have reasoned out in the *Gāthā* (p. 137) was very much in vogue at the time Gurū Rāmdās' version was picked up for inclusion in the Holy Scripture. To be on sure ground, I have now collated very carefully the text of a number of hymns and some of the longer poems found in this manuscript with those available in Miharban's exegesis. I find that texts of MS 1245 conform more to the texts of the current Gurū Granth than to the Mīnās. To quote only one example, the text of the first Gurū's hymn, *morī run jhun lāiā* in Rāga Vadhansa, as found in MS 1245, corresponds much more closely to the text in the Gurū Granth than to the one found in Miharban's exegesis[2]. Both, MS 1245's and Guru Granth's hymn (Vadhans M1, chaupadā 3) end on the line *kion na marījai jīāṛā dījai jā(n) sahu bhaiā vidāṇā*, whereas the Miharban text has one more line needed to wind it up; *āpne pir bhāṇī mahali bulāī nānak sang samānā*. There is, therefore, no affinity between the two texts— one of MS 1245 and the other of Minas.

Of the longer poems in MS 1245, collated by me with their counterparts in the Miharbān's exegesis, "Oamkār", "The Siddha Goshti " and "Anand" show marked text-variants, whereas they correspond much more faithfully to the texts in the Gurū Granth. For this reason, they cannot be labelled as Mīnā texts. Yet the "Anand" differs from both in that it has two stanzas, Nos. 26

[2] For Miharban's text, see MS No. 427, folio 238 in the Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar .

and 27, which tally neither with the Miharbān version
nor with the one current at present. They do not
conform to the text of "Anand" in the Mohan Pothīs
too. They have, evidently, come from some different
source.

Another characteristic of "Anand" that is worthy of
note relates to the sequence of the last nine stanzas of
it in MS 1245 vis-a-vis other codices and their position
in the current Granth . Here is the relative position :

Text		Stanza No. in.		
The Index line	Current Granth	Ms 1245	Mihar bān's	Mohan Pothīs
ਏ ਰਸਨਾ ਤੂੰ ਅਨਰਸਿ ਰਾਚਿ ਰਹੀ	32	32	32	32
ਏ ਸਰੀਰਾ ਮੇਰਿਆ ਹਰਿ ਤੁਮ ਮਹਿ	33	33	33	33
ਮਨਿ ਚਾਉ ਭਇਆ ਪ੍ਰਭ ਆਗਮੁ	34	38	x	x
ਏ ਸਰੀਰਾ ਮੇਰਿਆ ਇਸੁ ਜਗ ਮਹਿ	35	34	34	34
ਏ ਨੇਤ੍ਰਹੁ ਮੇਰਿਹੋ ਹਰਿ ਤੁਮ ਮਹਿ	36	35	35	35
ਏ ਸ੍ਰਵਣਹੁ ਮੇਰਿਹੋ ਸਾਚੇ ਸੁਨਣੈ ਨੋ	37	36	36	36
ਹਰਿ ਜੀਉ ਗੁਫਾ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਰਖਿ ਕੈ	38	37	37	37
ਏਹੁ ਸਾਚਾ ਸੋਹਿਲਾ ਸਾਚੈ ਘਰਿ	39	40	38	38
ਅਨੰਦ ਸੁਣਹੁ ਵਡਭਾਗੀਹੋ	40	39	39	x

The comparative table given above brings to mind
a few very interesting fatcs :

The first, Stanza 34 of the current version of the
"Anand" figures neither in Miharbān's text nor in Mohan
Pothīs, but MS 1245 does have it . MS 1245, thus,
conforms more to the accepted version than to the Mīnā's
Granth — a point that has again and again been stressed
by us to counteract the malicious propaganda of the
detractors. The second, the compiler of Ms 1245 has, very
sagaciously, not allowed stanza 34 (man chāo bhayā) to
creep in between the solid block of stanzas 32 to 37 for
they are of like import, and need to be placed in

propinquity. By doing so, he has kept their thematic unity and artistic beauty. Are we to call it "a horrible distortion" or "a careful redaction?" Let Balwant Singh, Trilochan Singh and others of their thinking answer?

It is a practice with Miharbān to give one (sometimes more) slokas from his own composition at the close of each *bānī* which he reproduces . That sloka always bears "dās nānak" as its pen name. No such sloka is found entered any where in this manuscript. It is, therefore, preposterous to say that MS 1245 is a Mīnā work.

Besides, we know that the Mīnā heir, Hari Jī of Miharbān's line, did not allow Gurū Tegh Bahādur to get near the Golden Temple even . It defies reason that a Mīnā work should adore itself with an autograph from Gurū Tegh Bahādur's pen. The allegation of this manuscript being a Mīnā work is, therefore, absurd and only a ruse not to face the stark reality.

Only recently a friend of mine has brought to my notice that the Mūlmantra in Miharbān's *Janamsākhi* of Gurū Nānak Dev Ji, has at its end *sambhau* (ਸੰਭੋ, ਸੰਭਉ)[3] and not *saibhang* (ਸੈਭੰ). This test is rigidly followed by the Chandigarh scholars in their writings to brand a work as of Mīnā origin. The Mūlmantra in MS 1245 (GNDU)[4], however, ends everywhere on *saibhang* (ਸੈਭੰ) which conforms to the current Gurū Granth's text. In face of this overwhelming evidence of the Chandigarh scholars' own choosing, where does the contention of Balwant Singh Dhillon stand that MS 1245 is a Mīnā work? Will he please explain?

Balwant Singh and his Chandigarh patrons have tried to rake up the history of the manuscript. They

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[3.] Miharban, *Janamsakhi Sri Guru Nanak Dev Ji*, Khalsa College, Amritsar, Vol. I, 1962, p. 1 (Text) and Vol. II, p. 358 (Chatrabhoj Pothi).

[4.] See Rāgas Gurū, Asā, Rāmkali (Oamkār) and Dates of Demise; and for specimens, plates XVI and XIII in *Gatha* (Section Śunya).

allege to have extracted a confession from the manu-
script-seller that he had obtained this manuscript along
with other works of Miharbān from somewhere in
Rajasthān (*Abs*, Jan. 93, p.17 and Jul. 93, p. 73). I have
myself tried to assesss the veracity of this statement
from the dealers from whom the University had bought
this manuscript. They categorically deny having made
any such statement. They merely stated that they had
obtained the manuscript from some station[5] in Rajasthān.
"Had they any inkling of its being a Mīnā work they
would not. have gone out with the conjecture that the
opening sloka was in the hand of Bābā Buddhā", they
assert. At any rate, it is highly preposterous on the part
of the Chandigarh scholars to go on insisting that it is
a Mīnā work, when the texts do not correspond. It is
an independent compilation. The matter should rest at
that.

3. NO PARALLEL SCRIPTURE ENVISAGED

Balwant Singh and his Chandigarh mentors are at
pains to show that the compiler of this manuscript was
out to compile his own parallel Scripture as an alter-
native to Gurū Arjun's *Ādi Granth* (*Abs* . July 93, p. 78).
In declaring this they clearly forget the presence of the
autograph of the Ninth Gurū prominently displayed in
the opening pages of this manuscript . He was, as I have
said in my book *Gāthā* (page 169) dedicatedly attached
to the main stream. There is no question of his prepar-
ing an alternative Scripture. Balwant Singh and his

[5.] A copy of the Manuscript-seller's statement made to the Akal Takht Chief
on May 5, 1993, obtained and distributed by Dr. Jasbir Singh Mann of
California, on the occasion of Conference of Sikh Social and Educational
Society, Thornhill, Ontario, Canada, identifies the station to be Ged Singh
Nagar (Distt. Gangānagar) in Rajasthān. The statement (captioned "Con-
fession") released, does not contain a single word to show the Manuscript's
Mīnā origin. This falsifies the statement made by the Chandigarh con-
tenders (*Abs*. Jan. 93, p. 17) and by Balwant Singh Dhillon in the July
1993 issue of the same journal (p. 75).

mentor's obsession with the Mīnās does not allow them to see this naked truth even.

Balwant Singh has drawn a long list of what he calls omissions, apocrypha, modifications and forgeries (*Abs.* July 93, pp. 77-80) and, in the true style of his Chandigarh mentors has tried to show them as motivated manipulations. This is a very biased assessment and is the product of blind adherence to the dogma I shall propound soon. The manuscript, as I have shown in my book *Gāthā*, is a sporadic attempt at compilation. Its compiler collected material from the sources around him. He laid his hand on anything that came his way, baked or half-baked. He had no axe to grind except an urge to see the Word of his beloved Gurūs preserved as best as he could. This accounts for the much trumpted omissions, apocrypha and modifications.

4. THE SEDUCER DOGMA

The problem with our Chandigarh friends and their like-minded people is that they are prisoners of the untenable dogma that Kartārpurī Bīr is the original *Ādi Granth* which was compiled by the Fifth Master, and, therefore, whatever does not conform to it, is unacceptable. In the words of their Patriarch, Late S . Daljeet Singh—

(a) There is not the least doubt that the Kartarpuri Bir is incontrovertibly the *Bir* written by Bhai Gurdas (*Auth,* p.68);

(b) The basic objective of this compilation is a virtual edict by the fifth Guru that what is in the Guru Granth is the only authentic *Bani* of the Gurus and that anything dissimilar to the *Bani* in the *Adi Granth* is either not of the Gurus or is not authentic (*Auth,* p. 7). Besides, they hold as dogmatically as the above that

there was only one attempt at compilation of Bānī and that was by Gurū Arjun, undertaken with assistance from Bhāī Gurdās. Consequently (again in the words of S. Daljeet Singh)—

> (c) It is evident that every other manuscript or *bir*, and there are hundreds of them, is a subseqent copy of the Kartarpuri Bir, or a copy of its copy, or collection (*Abs*, Jan, 93, p. 39).

This is why the Patriarch's argument in his book, *Authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir*, runs refrain like in the vein : "such a thing could happen only in the original" or "such and such thing could never occur in a copy".

A further extension of the seducer dogma is the belief that Sri Guru Granth Sahib, as current at present, "is faultlessly accurate version of the *Kartarpuri Bir*" (*Auth*, p. 69) and that "this printed version today tallies completely with the *Kartarpuri Bir*" (*Auth*, p. 70).

The net result of all this is that whatever does not stand the test of their dogma, is "motivated interpolation", "forgery" and "blasphemy", and the *bīr* that does not conform to this notion of theirs, is a suspect document. This is the handy weapon they hesitate not to seize upon and use ruthlessly to beat their opponents with.

For a better appreciation of the untenability of this dogma, it may be recalled that the Kartārpurī Bīr, as shown by me in this book (pp. 75-108, above) is not the original Ādi Granth got prepared by Gurū Arjun, nor there has been only one original compilation, of which the rest are mere copies (*Gāthā*, p. 437).

5. BALWANT SINGH'S CONTENTIONS AND THEIR EXAMINATION

Anyway, under the grip of the above dogma, Balwant Singh, the mouthpiece of the Chandigarh patriarch, Daljeet Singh, sets out to demolish MS 1245 as a Mīnā

work. His first charge is—

> In all the *salokas* of the Sikh Gurus which are found in the various *vars*, the term *Mahalā* (ਮਹਲਾ) indicating their authorship has been omitted . . . It is obvious, inadvertantly or deliberately, the authorship of many hymns has been confused in this manuscript (*Abs.*, July 93, p. 76).

The word "omitted" used by the learned writer suggests that he thinks the non-recording of mahallas, i.e., authorship of slokas of the vārs to be a wilful act . This is absolutely wrong and mischievous. The recording of slokas without mahallās represents an early stage of their compilation, when the mahallās were not yet taken care of. This state of vārs in MS 1245 corresponds exactly to the initial state of vārs in the Kartārpurī Bīr. The note appended to the account of each vār by Bhāī Jodh Singh in his book, *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan* confirms this view. Each note states categorically that mahallās were added to slokas later on, by way of supplementary information. In other words, the vārs in the Kartārpurī Bīr had, initially, one to one correspondence with the vārs in MS 1245, so far as the recording of mahallās was concerned. This vouchsafes the antiquity of the source where from the compiler of MS 1245 got the text for his vārs.

Now, see the tyranny of the dogma in the two identical cases : the insertion of mahallās in the Kartāpurī Bīr is seen by Daljeet Singh and his co-thinkers, as "rectification" of a mistake or lapse (*Auth*, p. 20), whereas, in the case of MS 1245, their (mahallās') absence due to later non-insertion, is a wilful omission"! (*Abs*, July 93, p. 76). This is the biased obsession in which Balwant Singh's article under discussion abounds. Obsessed as he is with the seducer dogma, he has no mind to see beyond his nose.

6. An Objective Assessment

My assessment of the work which I can claim to be objective, finds full expression in my book *Gāthā* (pages 132-172). I hold this manuscript to be an independent attempt at compilation of the Holy Word. For his sources, the compiler seems to have depended on stray collections of *bānī* that were in circulation then at centres of the Sikh community or in personal custody of the devotees made by them for their own use. Repetitions, apocrypha and plethora of text-variants of which the articles in question take notice of, are but a normal feature of any original compilation. They cannot be taken to be "motivated forgeries" or "modifications" or "distortions" or "tamperings" with as Balwant Singh and his friends love to do.

7. Trilochan Singh's Assessment

Trilochan Singh's assessment of MS 1245, propounded in his article on Pashaura Singh's thesis first published in *Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib : Academics or Blasphemy* (pp. 183-209) and then reproduced in *Ernest Trumpp and W.H. Mcleod as scholars of Sikh History, Religion and Culture* (pp. 343-376), proceeds on the same dogmatic lines as does Balwant Singh's . In it he repeats charges of "distortion" of *bānī*,"alteration of verse orders", etc. as has been levelled by Balwant Singh and his mentors . He has,. however, tried to substantiate them by specific examples from *Japu*, Rāga Tilang and Vār Rāga Gaurī of Mahalla 5. The ten examples, he has picked up from the *Japu*, are sporadic text-variants, resulting from innocent interference by the unlettered devotees who unwittingly impose their own idiom on their favourite compositions . They are not "innovative distortions" or "alterations" by the Mīnā-cult followers as Trilochan Singh wishes us to believe. He would have

been, indeed, more honest and helpful, if he had, instead of seeking resort to a prosodic argument, dwelt on my observations made in this connection in my book *Gāthā*, on pages 123-124.

The worst mirror of the Doctor's depraved scholarship is his glossing over a text-variant in the *Japu* of MS 1245 that calls attention of all scholars: ਅਸੰਖ ਸੂਰ ਮੁਹ ਭਖਹਿ ਸਾਰ in place of ਅਸੰਖ ਸੂਰ ਮੁਹ ਭਖ ਸਾਰ।

Trilochan Singh's study of Rāga Gaurī of Gurū Arjun has led him to state that "*Pauris* are intact and have few errors. But all *shalokas* have been removed from their proper places and attached to some other *Pauris* while *shalokas* have been completely eliminated."[6] Trilochan Singh's certificate that "*Pauris* are intact and have few errors" is enough to falsify his indictment of motivated "innovative distortions". "Few errors" means 'no error'— a testimony to the compiler's concern for correct recording. The non-conformity of slokas with those that are current at present is, indeed, due to the fluid state when slokas had not yet been assigned to vārs. There is no reason to believe that the compiler of this manuscript who has recorded the paurīs with "few errors" would not have recorded the slokas correctly too. Seeing things with jaundiced eye of the dogma does little credit to scholarship professed by our distinguished scholars. The much trumpeted "distortions" and motivated "alterations" have, therefore, to be taken very justly as text-variants resulting from the proclivities of the unlettered folk or less educated scribes. This is the only correct approach to the problem under discussion.

Trilochan Singh in his own slip-shod way has taken considerable pains to prove that the Mūlmantra in the MS 1245 is of the Mīnā cult, since it has *satiguru prasād* in place of *gurparsād*. He forgets that Bābā Mohan

6. *Ernest Trumpp and W. H. Mcleod*, p. 366.

Pothīs (of the palanquin of which that was used to carry them to Amritsar, he makes a special mention in his book quoted above and gives a picture too) have this very Mūlmantra. This is met in the *nishān* in Bhāī Banno's Bīṛ too (folio 370) which is claimed to be by the Fifth Gurū (see *Gāthā*, Plate XXVI). *Satigur prasād* is ubiquitous in 523 short mangals embedded in the Gurū Granth itself. For that reason, the Mūlmantra with *Satgur prasād* at its end cannot be declared to be a Mīnā cult Mūlmantra. We shall, however, revert to this topic at some length in the pages to come.

8. AN INNOCUOUS NOTE MISINTERPRETTED

To save the readers from botheration, I had put up two notes, one in English and the other in Punjabi, in the manuscript under discussion. The first was put on the page with which the manuscript opened. It ran :

(i) "Actually this is folio 522."

The other was :

(ii) " ਵਡਹੰਸ ਦੇ ਤਤਕਰੇ ਦਾ ਮੁਢਲਾ, 522 ਵਾਲਾ ਪੱਤ੍ਰਾ, ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਦੇ ਆਰੰਭ ਵਿਚ ਲੱਗਾ ਹੋਇਆ ਹੈ ਜਿਲਦ ਬੰਨਾਵਣ ਸਮੇ ਹੋਈ ਉਕਾਈ ਹੈ।"

These innocuous notes, written for the guidance of the readers and the laminator (which act was under consideration then), were trumpeted by a high-up in the Chandigarh detractors as interpolation of a *sabad* by a present day professor! (*Spokesman*—Pbi, March 94, p.32). The readers may judge for themselves the standard of honesty shown by that high-up in declaring the innocuous note in Punjabi above, a *sabad* !

In a very recent meet of scholars held at Amritsar on January 5, 1996, convened by the SPGC to discuss the authenticity of MS 1245, Balwant Singh Dhillon, spokesman of the Chandigarh group of scholars, I am

told, failed not to bamboozle the audience by declaring that MS 1245 had some writing in English which was under his investigation. His trumpeted investgation, I hope, will now come to an end with my note (in English) reproduced above!

MOHAN POTHIS

1. Newly Sprung Dislike For Mohan Pothis

Till the other day, Mohan Pothīs, of the contents and salient features of which we have apprised our readers in Book I Abstracts' part of this work, held a respectable place in the writings of almost all traditionalists. Bhai Jodh Singh took special care to add three pages in his book *Kartārpurī Bīr de Darshan* by way of Appendices 1, 2 and 3 to share the little information he was able to collect about them. One of the appendices contains specimens of its caligraphy and has the text of the Mulmantra too. The Chandigarh Patriarch, Daljeet Singh, too did not fail to take notice of them, though in a subdued tone (*Auth*, p. 5). But now that the Mulmantra as recorded in the Pothīs, has come under fire because of a few text-variants in it, the Pothīs have become despised codices with the Patriarch and his supporters! Their new stance finds expression in "Blasphemous Attacks" (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, pp. 25-29) repeated with some modifications in "Goindwal Pothīs—A post 1995 Production" by Daljeet Singh and Kharak Singh Mann in *Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib.*

2. Challenge To Pothīs Credentials

The article in the work cited above, sets out to challenge the credentials of the Mohan Pothīs under three heads : authenticity, dating and reliability of the story.

(a) *Authenticity* : By authenticity they mean the genuineness of the Holy Word recorded in the Mohan Pothīs. On this point they think it enough to reiterate the dogma that the Guru's decision to compile the Kartārpurī Bīṛ categorically emphasizes that any composition that is variant in form and content from the Kartarpuri Bir is not *Sachi Bani* of the Gurus . Therefore, a variant manuscript can neither be used, nor have any claim to authenticity (P. Att., p. 117); and the matter ends there.

(b) *Dating* : With this dogmatic approach there was no need for the distinguished writers to proceed further with the question of dating. Yet they are keen to proceed and assert that the date 1652 BK/AD 1595 is a later interpolation and possibly an antidated one or may be the actual one (*P.Att.*, pp. 118-119). This is to what their revised opinion in *P. Att.* comes to. Earlier they had in their editorial captioned "Blasphemous Attack" dubbed it as "a post-Fifth Guru compilation" (*Abs.* Jan. 92, p.33). But now they seem to have veered round the above position . Anyway, their present stance is in conformity with our position stated in the *Gāthā* (p. 112) that the date 1652 BK/AD 1595 sounds to be nearer the Truth.

Notwithstanding my having accepted AD 1595 as its likely date (which conclusion was arrived at because of the presence of the Fourth and the Fifth Master's hymns in it), Daljeet Singh and his co-editor Kharak Singh have thought it fit to observe :

> But Piar Singh is so biased, that defying simple logic and common sense, he has no hesitation in calling the schismatic *pothis* with the Handalia *Mulmantra, a compilation of the time of the third Guru.* After all, where did the schismatic compiler of the Mohan Pothis get Guru Arjun's hymn from except the

Kartarpuri Bir or a copy of it like the Banno Bir of
Sammat 1699? (*Abs.*, Jan . 93, p. 33).

In reply I have only to refer the distinguished critics
to the last para on page 112 of my book, *Gāthā*, wherein
I have opted for AD 1595 as the likely date of the
completion of the Pothīs .

As for the appearance of Gurū Arjun's hymn, in the
Ahīyāpur Pothī, it is preposterous to say that the hymn
came from the Kartārpurī Bīr or some copy thereof. The
hymns that Gurū Arjun composed did not remain con-
fined in notebooks. They continued to be in circulation
for long, before they found their place in the Kartārpurī
Bīr. It was from its circulatory field that the disputed
hymn, very likely, found its way into the Ahīyāpur
Pothī as a composition of the third Master. The hold
of the Kartārpurī Bīr's dogma over the Chandigarh
scholars is too apparent to need any further comment.

(c) *Reliability of the Story* : Daljeet Singh and Kharak
Singh following Sāhib Singh hold the story of the
retrieval of Pothīs to be impossible and, therefore, not
believable. As for me, this matters little, for I have
categorically stated in my book, *Gatha* (p. 112) that the
study of the Pothis conducted by me, provides no clue
whatsoever, showing Guru Arjun's indebtedness to these
Pothīs. Still the anteriority of their text over other
codices cannot be denied.

3. ANTERIORITY CONFIRMED

Concluding this account, the anteriority of the Mohan
Pothīs over any other codex including the Kartārpurī
Bīr, may be acceded on the following grounds:

(a) The colophon by the original copyist on folio 8
of the Ahīyāpur Pothī invokes only the first three Gurūs
and not any of their later-successors;

(b) The copyist prefers to call Gurū Nanak by his

earlier appellations "Bābā" and "Bābā Pātishāh" and not by the later "Mahalla I".

(c) To indicate authorship of the later Gurūs an earlier form Mahalu (ਮਹਲੁ) has been used and not the later Mahallā (ਮਹਲਾ).

(d) The Pinjore Pothī has the autograph of the Fourth Gurū inscribed as *Ghulām mast taindā Jeth Chand*.

(e) The Anand comprising thirty-eight stanzas in the Pinjore Pothi represents its earliest text when two stanzas, one by the Fourth Master and another by the Fifth Gurū, had not yet been added to it .

(f) The presence in the Pothīs of crossed out hymns of Ghulām and Sadā Sewak point to a period when Gurū Rāmdās had not yet been designated "Gurū", since Ghulām, on the authority of his autograph mentioned above in the Pinjore Pothi, seems to refer to him unambiguously.

(g) The mixed recording of Bhagat *bānī* in the Pothīs points to a period when that *bānī* had not yet been properly differentiated.

(h) The colloquial form of certain words— *ambrit (amrit), sambat (sammat), sipt (sift), saisār (saṁsār)*, etc. connect the *bānī* with its earlier stage in transmission from the masses to the Granth.

(i) The shape of the Pothīs' characters, absence of the sign for kanaurā and the nasal sound (*bindī*) in its orthographic pattern, all vouchsafe for the Pothīs a time much earlier than of any other codex.

(j) All stalwarts including Bhāī Jodh Singh have had accepted the Pothīs' existence and authenticity.

As regards the allegation that the Mūlmantra in the Mohan Pothīs is of Handālia origin, we shall deal with it at some length in the chapter to come.

THE MULMANTRA IMBROGLIO

1. THE GENESIS OF THE TROUBLE

My indictment at the Akāl Takht had come because I had in my book, *Gāthā*, stated that the creedal formula (the Mūlmantra) of the Sikh faith too had, like its short mangal, undergone a change before its canonization in the Holy Granth. In the course of my study of earlier codices, I had come across the following forms of the mangals used for invocatory purposes :

Oam Gurū Sati	(ੴ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ)
Ek Gurū Sati	(੧ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ)
Ek Oamkār Gurū Sati	(੧ੴ ਗੁਰੂ ਸਤਿ)
Satigurū Parsādi	(ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਸਾਦਿ)
Ek Satigurū Prasādi	(੧ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ)
Ek Siri Satigurū Prasādi	(੧ ਸ੍ਰਿ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ)
Ek Oamkār Gurū prasādi	(੧ੴ ਗੁਰੂ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ)
Ek Oāmkār Satigurū Parisādi	(੧ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ ਪਰਿਸਾਦਿ)

These, in due course, are said to have settled at—

     EK *Oamkār Satigur Prasādi*   (੧ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ).

Now, the current Granth, which is believed to represent the Kartārpurī Bīṛ faithfully, has this very form of the short mangal used 523 times. The mangals at ten other places partake of the character of the Mūlmantra and have at the end *Gurprasādi* instead of *Satigurprasādi*.[1] This shows

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[1] Vide the current Guru Granth Sahib, pages 81, 137, 220, 235, 242, 243, 340, 345, 544 and 855. The mangals on pp. 81 and 544 run '੧ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ' while at the rest eight places, they are '੧ੴ ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਗੁਰਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ'।

that, at one time, *Gurprasādī* formed part of the short *mangal* but later on it was replaced by *satigur prasādī*. This change, I had opined, took place during the ministry of the Third Gurū, Amardās, when fake gurūs had appeared on the scene and a need was felt to refer to the Sikh Gurū as The True Gurū (*satigurū*). Its ubiquitous use in the Mohan Pothīs seemed to confirm this conjecture.

Likewise, I had tried to explain the text-variants noticed by me in the Mūlmantra of the Mohan Pothīs as against the one that is current at present . I, then, noted that the two versions had the following four variants:

Mohan Pothīs		Current Granth	
sachu nāmu	(ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ)	*satināmu*	(ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ)
kartāru	(ਕਰਤਾਰੁ)	*kartā purakhu*	(ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ)
nirīkāru	(ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰੁ)	*nirvairu*	(ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ)
sambhau	(ਸੰਭਉ)	*saibham*	(ਸੈਭੰ)

The Mūlmantra of Mohan Pothīs shown by me on page 19 above, ends in the Ahiyāpur Pothi on *sambhau* in many cases, with *satigurū parsad* tagged on the *ek oamkar*. In a few cases only it has *gur parsad* repeated at the end. This showed that *satigurū parsad* had by then replaced *gur parsād*. So, I took up the other constituents one by one and held that *sachu* was very much in vogue during Gurū Nānak's time. This was so because we find *sachu* and its derivatives *sāchā, sachiār, sachchon* etc. invariably used by Gurū Nānak in his *bānī*. Preference for its use, I thought, showed Gurū Nānak's concern to reach the masses in the idiom familiar to them. Later on, I argued, it got changed into *sati* to conform to the philosophic idiom that had long been in vogue in the country.

About the next constituent of the Mūlmantra I had held that there was enough circumstantial evidence to

show that "kartār" indicating 'creator' was very much
in use in Gurū Nānak's time. Gurū Nānak had named
the town he founded "Kartārpur" and according to an
old *Janamsakhī* account, "Kartār Karār", as a form of
salutation, was ubiquitously current during the life -
time of Gurū Nānak. In fact, the Sikh community at
Kartārpur was referred to as "Congregation of the
Kartārīs" (*Kartārīāṅ dī Sangat*). From this I inferred that
the Fifth Gurū, at the time of the canonization of the
Holy Word thought it fit to change *kartār* into its Sanskrit
equivalent *kartā* to make it conform to the long standing
theological idiom of India. Besides, he put *purakhu* after
it to emphasize that in the Sikh theological system God,
the Akāl Purakha, is the Sole Creator and not Prakriti
and Purusha, both, as certain theological systems of
India hold.

The change of *nirīkār* into *nirvair*, I thought, was
necessary to emphasize that God of the Sikh concept
is free of animosity. This was in contradistinction of
certain Semitic religious traditions wherein God,
alongwith other attributes, is shown to be revengeful
too. Besides, it was to serve as an ideal for the Gursikh's
conduct . He was expected to be *sans*-enmity apart from
being *sans*-fear . *Nirīkār* could be dispensed with, for
nirbhau, akāl-mūrti and *ajūnī* amply covered the idea
inherent in *nirīkār*.

The change of *sambhau* into *saibhaṅg*, I apprehended,
was made by the Fifth Master because of the ease with
which the latter appellation could be pronounced. The
two, I held, did not make much difference so far as
the concept was concerned (*Gāthā*, p. 420).

Obviously, in no way had I challenged the current
Mūlmantra, rather had explained it in the most logical
and acceptable terms . Yet the Chandigarh hardliners,
.headed by Daljeet Singh, got up with all their energy

to implicate me in the vilification campaign they had already let loose against Pashaura Singh . He too had, having come across the Mūlmantra in Mohan Pothīs , tried to explain the change in his own way in his unpublished thesis, "The Text and Meaning of the *Ādi Granth*" for which he was, then, under fire.

It is not that Dr . Pashaura Singh or I were the first to take cognizance of the variance in the two versions of the Mūlmantra. Giani Mahān Singh, editor of the *Khālsā Samāchar* had already, while discussing various forms of the mangals and the Mūlmantra in an article captioned "*pīū dāde kā kholi diṭṭhā khazānā (Nirguniārā*, July 1959) observed that the form of the Mūlmantra as found in the Holy *Ādi Granth*, appears to have got its final form at the hands of the Fifth Master .[2] Its earlier form, as found in Goindwal codices, he wrote[2], was:

ੴ ਸਤਿਗੁਰੂ (ਪਰਸਾਦਿ) ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਰ ਨਿਰਭਉ
ਨਿਰੀਕਾਰੁ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੈਭਉ ॥

A decade after Mahan Singh's article referred to above, there appeared in the SGPC's own journal, the *Gurmat Prakāsh* (January 1968) an article by Ranjīt Singh Tājwar . In it he, quoting Mūlmantra of "Bābā Mohan Pothīs" as reproduced by Giānī Giān Singh in his *Tawārikh Gurū Khālsā* (Punjabi edition, Vol. I, No. 2, p. 725) and by Professor Teja Singh in his exegesis of the *Japu Ji* (page 80, f.n.) had opined that from it 'a doubt persists that the current standard text of the Mūlmantra is a mended form of Gurū Bābā Nānak's version—mended by Gurū Arjun himself.[3]

[2.] ਮੂਲਮੰਤੂ ਦਾ ਜੋ ਸਰੂਪ ਪਵਿੱਤੂ ਆਦਿ ਬੀੜ ਵਿਚ ਮੌਜੂਦ ਹੈ, ਇਸ ਨੂੰ ਇਹ ਅੰਤਮ ਸਰੂਪਤਾ, ਪ੍ਰਤੀਤ ਹੁੰਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਪੰਜਮ ਪਾਤਸ਼ਾਹ ਜੀ ਨੇ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਹੈ। ਪਹਿਲੇ ਕੀ ਸਰੂਪ ਸੀ? ਗੋਇੰਦਵਾਲ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਾਲੀਆਂ ਪੋਥੀਆਂ ਵਿਚ ਕੁਝ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਦਾ ਨਮੂਨਾ ਮਿਲਦਾ ਹੈ" – 'ਨਿਰਗੁਣੀਆਰਾ', ਜਿਲਦ 57, ਅੰਕ 7, ਜੁਲਾਈ 1959, ਪੰਨਾ 10.

[3.] "ਜਿਸ ਤੋਂ ਇਹ ਸ਼ਕ ਕੀਤਾ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੂਲਮੰਤਰ ਦਾ ਪ੍ਰਚਲਿਤ ਪਰਮਾਣੀਕ ਰੂਪ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਮਹਾਰਾਜ ਦੀ ਲੇਖਣੀ ਦੁਆਰਾ ਆਦਿ ਗੁਰੂ ਬਾਬੇ ਦੀ ਲਿਖਤ ਨੂੰ ਤਰਮੀਮ ਕਰਕੇ ਸੋਧਿਆ ਗਿਆ"– quoted by Ranjit Singh Kharag in his article "Mūlmantra— Guru Nānak de Chaudān Rattan", *Gurmat Prakash*, Quincentenary Issue (September 1969) SGPC., Amritsar.

Again in 1982, one Lakhbīr Singh of Poona, contrib-
uted three articles on Mohan Pothīs in the monthly *Giān
Amrit* (Amritsar) . In his second article which appeared
in October 1982, he dwells at length on various forms
of the Mūlmantra, discusses its likely genesis, and
concludes that from the discussion detailed above, it is
clear that the Mūlmantra, as given in the *Ādi Granth*,
is a work of Gurū Arjun Dev.[4]

This is exactly what I had said in my book, *Gāthā*
(page 418), for which I was hauled up. But, Giānī
Mahān Singh and Ranjit Singh Tajwar were lucky. There
was no inquisitive body in the Sikh community then .
Lakhbīr Singh escaped persecution because School of
Sikh Studies of S . Daljeet Singh had not yet acquired
that stance yet and, perhaps, there was then no readily
amenable Takht Chief too.

When after a year's research I, through an open letter
dated March 17, 1994, brought to the notice of the
Jathedar, Prof. Manjit Singh, the kinship of Giānī Mahān
Singh etc's thoughts with my findings and also showed
him through quotes from Gurbānī how the disputed
Mūlmantra stood reflected in the Gurū's hymns them-
selves, he could not appreciate the genuineness of my
argument . He rather chose to threaten me with fresh
summons at the Akāl Takht (*Spokesman*, Pbi., April,
1994). This disappointed me sorely and I realized the
futility of entering into a dialogue with people with
closed minds.

2. MOUNTING OF CAMPAIGN

The strategy adopted to bring me to book was, as
usual, to play on the religious susceptibilities of the
gullible Sikhs. Accordingly, the first salvo that was shot

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4. "ਉਪਰ ਦਿੱਤੀ ਵਾਰਤਾ ਤੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਆਦਿ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਅੰਦਰ ਦਿੱਤੇ ਮੂਲਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਦਾ ਰੂਪ ਗੁਰੂ ਅਰਜਨ
ਦੇਵ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਹੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਹੈ"– 'ਗਿਆਨ ਅੰਮ੍ਰਿਤ' (ਅਕਤੂਬਰ 1982), ਪੰਨਾ 21 .

against me in the form of an article, bore the caption *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib Upar Kitābī Hamlā* (an attack on Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib). This article, I learnt later on, was prepared on behest of their Chandigarh mentors by Drs. Balwant Singh Dhillon and Rai Jasbir Singh, both of the Department of Guru Nanak Studies, but was published under the name of one, Amarjit Singh, in *Ajj dī Āwāz* (Jalandhar). It had full blessings of their Chandigarh mentors and later on, formed the basis of all articles that related to this particular issue, especially the editorial entitled "Blasphemous Attacks" published in the Chandigarh Sikh Institute's Journal, *Abstracts of Sikh Studies* (January 1993).

It is not possible, nor is it feasible, because of unnecessary repetition, to take notice of each and every minor detail that appeared in these articles . It will serve our purpose if we discuss their main contentions and in doing so, refer to them as also to all subsequent exchanges that took place.

3. MŪLMANTRA'S ANTECEDENTS

It is a practice with all fundamentalists to brand as "fake ", "spurious", "apocrypha ", etc., anything that is not to their liking. A second stratagem is to lable it as hailing from some schismatic group. This has been the case with MS 1245 (GNDU) which was dubbed as of Mīnā group. The same is the case with the Goindwāl or Mohan Pothīs .

The writer of the said article in *Ajj dī Āwāz* (20 Dec., 1992) had hinted at the possibility of the Mohan Pothīs being of Handālī origin on the ground of their Mūlmantra's affinity with its counterpart called *dīkhiā* in works of the Handāl faction . What they had expressed as a "possibility" is now being trumpeted as a stark

reality by the Chandigarh coterie of scholars. They take
strange satisfaction in dubbing the Mulmantra of "Mohan
Pothīs ' as "Handālīā " (Abs., Jan. 93, pp. 33 and 39).
Yet they have nothing to show as why and how the
so-called Handālī Mūlmantra came to be incorporated
in Pothīs which contain Gurbānī and not a single couplet
by Bābā Handāl or any of his successors. The bankruptcy
of their stand needs no further comment.

4. THE HANDAL AND THE SIKH MŪLMANTRA

The writers of the article in Ajj dī Āwāz had based
their surmise on the version of dīkhiā available in Guru
Nanak Dev University's MS No. R-681 which contains
a life-account of Bābā Handāl (Parchī Bābā Handāl). Its
folio 1 (Fig. 7) runs as below:

> Ek oamkār satigur prasādi.
> nisān gurū bābe handāl jī kā dīkhiā.
> ādi sachu jugādi sachu, hai bhī sachu hosī bhī sachu.
> sachu nāmu kartā purakhu, nirbhau nirankāri.
> akāl mūrti ajūnī asambhang. japīai gurprasādi,
> handāl japīai gurprasādi . . . sift nirankār jī kī. . .

A look at the above piece shows it to be in the mould
of the contents' page of the Ādi Bīr. First, there is the
short mangal; then the intimation regarding the nishān
appears, though no autograph of Bābā Handāl is there.
Instead of sloka of the Japu fame, we have here, as a
heading, the term dīkhiā. The sloka corresponds to the
one found in the Ādi Granth but is without its author's/
poet's name (Nānak) . Ignoring slight variations in
pronunciation all the constituents of the present day
Mūlmantra (short of one, nirvair, but in excess of
another, nirankār) are there. Nirvair apparently, seems

Fig.7. MS 681-R (GNDU) "Parchi Baba Handal", Folio 1/L. *Nishan* and Handali Dikhia (Mulmantra).

Fig.8. Dikhia as imparted by Jind Pir to Baba Handal. (Same Parchi, Folio 99/R)

to have been left out by mistake while copying from
some other manuscript, for it figures prominently in the
dīkhiā that is imparted to Bābā Handāl by Jind pīr on
page 99 (Fig. 8) of the same manuscript. There the *dīkhiā*
runs as under:

> *kahu handāl*
>
> *ād sachu, ād sachu.*
>
> *jugādu sachu, jugādu sachu.*
>
> *hai bhī sachu, hai bhi sachu.*
>
> *hosī bhī sachu, hosī bhī sachu.*
>
> *sachu nām nirankār, sachu nām nirankār.*
>
> *nirbhai nirvair, nirbhai nirvair,*
>
> *nirankār akāl mūrati; nirankār akāl mūrati.*
>
> *ajūnī sambhav, japiai gurprasād,*
>
> *handal japiai. . .*

A scrutiny of the above *dīkhiā* shows that it is Handāl
who by picking up units from the Sikh lore, is in the
act of constructing his own, what may be called,
Mūlmantra. Presence of *kartā purakh, nirvair* and *gurprasād*
relate the Handāl version to the current Mūlmantra of
the *Ādi Granth*, while *sachu nām, nirankār* and *sambhav*
(*sambhau*) in it appear to be replica of the old version
inherited by him from the Sikh tradition as a *manjībardār*
(missionary). At any rate, there is no ground, whatso-
ever, to regard the Mūlmantra of the Mohan Pothīs as
having come from the Handālīa source.

5. MŪLMANTRA REFLECTED IN GURBĀNĪ

It is passionately believed by the adherents of the
Sikh faith that Mūlmantra is a revealed *bānī* and that
it was revealed on Guru Nānak. In my book, as said
above, I had tried to prove, on circumstantial evidence,
that *sachu nāmu, kartār*, as attributes of God, were very
much current in the time of Guru Nānak. The team

responsible for preparing the article "Srī Gurū Granth
Sāhīb Upar Kitābī Hamlā" had tried to confront me with
the fact that Gurū Nanak's *bānī* showed the use of *sati*
and *kartā purakh* too as against *sachu* and *kartār* of my
assertion. Unfortunately the few examples they were
able to cull from Gurbani related to *satu* (continence)
and not *sati* (truth). Their *kartā* and *kartā purakh* too
proved to be exceptions in the multitudous use of *kartār*
indicating 'creator'. These contentions of theirs were,
thus, dismissed by me in my article "Mūlmantra
Sambandhī Ghalt-fahmī " (*Pbi. Tri.* March 7, 1993).

My recent studies made on the point, however, have
brought to light a very interesting fact . In the whole
of Gurū Nānak's Bānī—nay in the Bānī of the rest of
the Gurūs and in *Sawayyas* by Bhatts also—it is the
Mūlmantra of the Mohan Pothīs that is found reflected .
Here are a few examples :

GURŪ NANAK

1. ਬੋਲਹੁ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਰ॥

   (bolho sachu nāmu kartār)   (AG, 1329)

2. ਜਾਤਿ ਅਜਾਤਿ ਅਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ, ਨ ਤਿਸ ਭਾਉ ਨ ਭਰਮਾ॥

   (jāti ajāti ajonī sambhau, na tis bhāo na bharmā)   (AG, 597)

3. ਆਪਿ ਅਤੀਤ ਅਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥

   (āpi atīt ajonī sambhau)   (AG, 1042)

4. ਸਰਬ ਜੋਤਿ ਨਿਰੰਜਨ ਸੰਭੂ ॥

   (sarab joti niranjan sambhū)   (AG, 1053)

GURŪ RAMDAS

5. ਜਪੁ ਮਨ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਸਤਿ ਸਤਿ ਸਦਾ ਸਤਿ
   ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਆਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥

   (japu man nirbhau sati sati sadā sati

   nirvair akāl murti ājūnī sambhau)   (AG, 1201)

GURŪ ARJUN:

6. ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰਵੈਰ ਅਥਾਹ ਅਤੋਲੇ

ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭੋ ॥

(nirbhau nirvair athāh atole

akāl mūrati ajūnī sambhau)   (AG, 99)

7. ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਅਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ਕਲਿ ਅਧਿਕਾਰ ਦੀਪਾਈ ॥

(akāl mūrati ajūnī sambhau kali adhikār dīpāī)   (AG, 916)

8. ਅਮੋਘ ਦਰਸਨ ਆਜੂਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ

ਅਕਾਲ ਮੂਰਤਿ ਜਿਸੁ ਕਦੇ ਨਹੀ ਖਉ ॥

(amogh darsan ājūnī sambhau

akāl murati jisu kade nahī khau)   (AG , 1082)

9. ਪਾਰਬ੍ਰਹਮ ਆਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ, ਸਰਬ ਥਾਨ ਘਟ ਬੀਠਾ ॥

(pārbrahm ājoni sambhau sarab thān ghat bīthā)   (AG, 1212)

BHATT'S SAWAYYAS :

10. ਮਤਿ ਮਾਤਾ ਸੰਤੋਖ ਪਿਤਾ ਸਰਿ ਸਹਜ ਸਮਾਯਉ ॥

ਆਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਵਿਅਉ ਜਗਤ ਗੁਰਬਚਨ ਤਰਾਯਉ ॥

mati mātā santokh pitā, sari sahaj samāyu,

ājonī sambhviau jagat gurbachan trāyu   (AG, 1397)

11. ਅਬਿਨਾਸੀ ਅਚਲ ਅਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ, ਪੁਰਖੋਤਮੁ ਅਪਾਰ ਪਰੇ ॥

abināsī achal ajonī sambhau purkhotamu apār pare. (AG, 1405)

12. ਸਦ ਜੀਵਣੁ ਅਰਜੁਨ ਅਮੋਲ ਆਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਉ ॥

sad jīwanu arjun amol ājonī sambhau   (AG, 1407)

13. ਅਜੋਨੀ ਸੰਭਵਿਉ ਸੁਜਸੁ ਕਲੁ ਕਵੀ ਆਨਿ ਬਖਾਨਿਉ

ajonī sambhavio sujasu kalh kavī āni bakhānio   (AG, 1407)

Verses quoted above bring into relief the echo of
almost all constituents of the earlier Mūlmantra found
in Mohan Pothīs, namely *sachu nāmu, kartār, nirbhau,
nirvair, akāl mūrati, ajūnī, sambhau;* but the last much more
prominently. And, it is indeed the last one, i.e., *sambhau,*
which matters the most for us to prove the contention
of change. The current Mūlmantra has *saibhaṅg* (ਸੈਭੰ) in
its place, which no Gurū has used in his *bānī,* nor even
the Fifth Gurū. It appears in the Holy Scripture thirty-
three times embedded in the *Mūlmantra* only. This is a
very intriguing situation. The Mūlmantra has a constit-

uent (*saibhang*) which the *bānī* in the Gurū Granth does
not reflect at all. Again, Gurū Arjun's *Nishān* has *saibhang*
but his *bānī* shows his preference for *sambhau* (ਸੰਭਉ). How
to count for these discrepancies? The only way to
explain them is that *sambhau* was changed into *saibhang*,
very likely, at the time of canonization of the Sikh Holy
Word. This lone factor is sufficient to vindicate my
stand and declare me "not guilty" on the question of
a change having been wrought in the Mūlmantra. The
change is there for any one to see.

Echo of *nirankār* (*nirīkār*) of the Mohan Pothīs may
also be discerned unmistakably in the *bānī* of the First
Gurū. Here are a few quotes from the Gurū Granth:

(a) ਨਾਨਕ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਸਚੁ ਏਕੁ ॥

(*nānak nirbhau nirankāru sachu eku*)   (*AG*, 464)

(b) ਨਾਨਕ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਹੋਰ ਕੇਤੇ ਰਾਮ ਰਵਾਲ ॥

(*nānak nirbhau nirankāru hor kete rām ravāl*).   (*AG*, 464)

(c) ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਸਚੁ ਨਾਮੁ ॥

(*nirbhau nirankāru sachu nām*)   (*AG*, 465)

(d) ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਵੈਰੁ ਪੂਰਨ ਜੋਤਿ ਸਮਾਨੀ ॥

(*nirbhau nirankāru nirvairu pūran joti samani*)   (*AG*, 596)

(e) ਫੁਨਿ ਜਾਨੇ ਕੋ ਤੇਰਾ ਅਪਾਰੁ ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰੁ ॥

(*phuni jāne ko terā apāru nirbhau nirankāru*)   (*AG*, 1398)

These show the possibility of *nirikār* being once a
constituent of the Mūlmantra and its dropping at the
time of canonizing of *bānī* by the Fifth Master.

6. A Rejoinder Examined

Before I close this section, it is but meet that notice
be taken of an article written by Dr. Vikram Singh in
the monthly *Aas Pass* (Patiala, July 1994). This article
was provoked by my open letter dated March 17, 1994,
addressed to the Acting Jathedar in which I had con-

veyed him my findings detailed above and had posed the question how, in face of all the evidence culled from the *bāni* of Gurūs themselves, the fact of the Mūlmantra having undergone a change could be denied? After all it could not be presumed that the First Gurū preached a Mūlmantra that was revealed on him but was not reflected in his *bāni*.

Dr. Vikram Singh's whole thrust is to prove that the current Mūlmantra is by Gurū Nānak and that it has ever been there. To prove this he brings in the *Purātan Janamsākhī, Janamsākhī Bhāi Bālā, Pothī Hari Jī* (included in the second volume of *Janamsākhī of Gurū Nānak Dev Jī* by Miharbān), *Goshti Gurū Miharbān*, and *Vāran* Bhāi Gurdās, all 'post-canonization of *Gurbānī*' works. He forgets that works produced three to four decades after the canonization and standardization of the Mulmantra in AD 1604, were expected (rather bound) to record in them the Mūlmantra's standardized form and not the earlier one. Any reliance on post-canonization works to disprove the Mūlmantra's evolution is thus *ab-initio* wrong and, therefore, untenable.

Besides, in my rejoinder to his article in *Aas Pāss*, (Patiala, March 1995), I pointed out that legends propounded in hagiographic literature, as the *Janamsākhīs* are, could not take place of hard real facts. *Vārān* by Bhāi Gurdās also came under that category. Pauri 1 of Vār 39 which Vikram Singh had quoted, I pointed out, was a post-canonization work. It related to the Sixth Gurū. It had to report the Mūlmantra in its latest standardized form. The Mūlmantra reproduced in it could not simply be the earlier one. On the contrary, Bhāi Gurdās' Vār 3, Pauri 15 and Vār 20, Pauri 9 which have *sachu nāmu kartāru* seemed to echo the earlier form. Thus evidence for the earlier form was overwhelmingly there.

In his zeal to show that the components of the current Mūlmantra are duly reflected in the *bānī* of Gurū Nānak, Vikram Singh is at pains to point out that *sati* is found used by Gurū Nānak in *satiguru, satijug* and *satimati*, besides having been used singly at two places. That Gurū Nānak should have used *sachu* instead of *sati* in accepted compound forms— *satiguru, satijug* and *satimati*— too, is a strange logic. Compound words cannot be reconstructed . The use of mere *sati* at two places and, likewise, of *kartā purakh* at two other places, are only exceptions, and exceptions do not make rules .

Vikram Singh's ingenuity in lending a ludicrous meaning (*kartār dā sadā kāim raihn wālā nāmu simrau*) to an otherwise clear injunction (*bolo sachu nāmu kartāru*) may be dismissed with a smile. But his dishonesty in suppressing correct meaning of *nirīkār* given by Bhāī Kāhn Singh in his renowned *Encyclopaedia of Sikhism*, and instead his leaning on the secondary meaning given by him, cannot be excused. This is gross dishonesty on the part of a professed scholar.

The last, Vikram Singh's effort to show *saibhang* (ਸੈਭੰ) as a derivative from *sambhav* betrays his scant knowledge of etymology. I wonder, why he missed to consult some pundit on the point and to learn that *saibhang*(ਸੈਭੰ) is from *swayambhū* (ਸੁਯੰਭੂ) and not from *sambhav* (ਸੰਭਵ)

With this, all his efforts to counteract my findings on Mūlmantra may be said to have ended in smoke.

REVELATORY CHARACTER OF GURBANI

THE MŪLMANTRA

The creedal statement of the Sikh faith, as has already been mentioned in the preceding chapter, appears in the Holy Scripture thirty-three times, but at no place does it come with the appellation Mūlmantra. Yet the tradition seems to have given it this appellation at an early stage, for we come across a clear reference to it in *Vārān* by Bhāī Gurdās, wherein he says :

ਸਤਿਨਾਮ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ ਮੂਲਮੰਤ੍ਰ ਸਿਮਰਣ ਪਰਵਾਣੈ ॥

(satinām kartā purakhu mūlmantra simran parvāṇai. (Vār 6, pauri 19.2)

PHYSIOGNOMY

A look at the earlier codices—Mohan Pothīs, Pothi Gurū Hari Sahāi, the Kartārpurī Bīr and Bīr Bhāī Banno, etc.—brings an interesting fact to light that *ek oamkār* (੧ੳ) is seen recorded singly at the headline, where after other constituents of the Mūlmantra follow in one solid block[1]. This shows that in early stages of the rise of the Sikh community *ek oamkār* was used as a holy symbol much in the same way as OM was used by the Hindus in their Scriptures. The same phenomenon can be seen in *nishāns* by the Gurūs with, of course, a few exceptions where *gurū sati* or *sati gurū* is seen appended to *ek oamkār* too[2].

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[1] See *Gāthā*, plates No 1, X, XVI, XXII, XXIII, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, XXVIII and XXIX. (Section Sunya)

[2] *Ibid,* plates XXXII and XXXIII

MULMANTRA NOT A PART OF THE JAPU

The Mūlmantra is not a part of the *Japu*. It is a chapter by itself, although the *Japu* seems to explicate it. This is evident from the fact that caption *Japu* in some codices (*bīrs*), comes at the head of the sloka, '*ādi sach. . . hosī bhī sach*' and in others at the head of the first paurī(stanza), i.e., '*sochai soch na hovaī*'. In both the cases, the Mūlmantra sounds independent of the text of the *Japu*. In the Bahowāl Pothī, Mūlmantra does not figure at all, and the *Japu* begins straightway with the inscription of the sloka. It is thus not a part of the *Japu*.

Yet another proof, and a very cogent one. In the *Purātan Janamsākhī*, believed to be the oldest account of Gurū Nānak's life, Gurū Nānak is said to have remained submerged in the waters of the river Bein for three days . From there, he was, it is claimed, taken into the audience of the Supreme Lord, who asked him to compose a *Japu* for the redemption of mankind. The Gurū obeyed and composed the *Japu* adoring Lord God, the True. The *Japu* recorded in the said anecdote begins with the sloka *ādi sach jugādi sach. . .*' and closes with the thirty-eighth stanza. The Mūlmantra does not form part of it[3]. This shows that the writer of the *Janamsākhī* did not consider the Mūlmantra to be a part of the *Japu*.

LACK OF TRADITION

The Sikh chronicles thus have no account to explain how, when, where and on whom the Mūlmantra was revealed . A quest made by an inquisitive reader, bogged down by its various versions that had come to his notice in the Sikh Scriptures, was forced to conclude, that 'with the tenacity the Mūlmantra had been undergoing a change, it appears that the Mūlmantra is neither God's injunction,

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[3] See *Purātan Janamsakhi* (ed. Bhai Vir Singh), 4th ed., p. 15.

nor could it be a work of Gurū Nānak[4].

The inquisitive reader's bewilderment over the genesis of the Mūlmantra is understandable. Answer to the riddle can be sought in the hard fact that all the linguistic units constituting the Mūlmantra, as recorded in Mohan Pothīs, are seen reflected in the Bānī of Gurū Nānak. The earlier form of the Mūlmantra may, thus, have been syncretized from there by the Gurū himself or by some successor of him. Anyway, the frequency in guru Nanak's bani of the echo of the earlier version vis-a-vis the later's[5], matches astonishingly well as can be seen from the figures given below :

Earlier Version		Later Version	(Frequency)
1) *sachu nāoṅ kartār* (ਸਚੁ ਨਾਉਂ ਕਰਤਾਰ)	4 times	*satināmu kartār* (ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾਰ)	once
2) *satināmu kartā purakhu* (ਸਤਿਨਾਮੁ ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ)	5 times	*kartā purakhu* (ਕਰਤਾ ਪੁਰਖੁ)	5 Times
3) *nirbhau nirankār* (ਨਿਰਭਉ ਨਿਰੰਕਾਰ)	once	*satinām* (ਸਤਿਨਾਮ)	twice

CHANDIGARH SCHOLARS' STANCE

On the question of revelation Daljeet singh and his co-editor, Kharak Singh hold that—

(a) A change in revealed *bani* is a theological contradiction. So far as Guru Nanak's *bani* is concerned, it is doubly so, because his spiritual status has been recognized to be unique and exalted. As explained by Bhai Gurdas in his 20th Var, Guru Nanak was Guru or Gurmukh from the very start and received directly the Grace of God. But every other Guru, as stated in the *Var*, was first a Gursikh and subsequently the beneficiary of His Grace through Guru

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4. ਜਿਸ ਖੁਲ੍ਹ ਨਾਲ ਮੂਲ ਮੰਤਰ ਦਾ ਰੂਪ ਬਦਲਿਆ ਜਾਂਦਾ ਰਿਹਾ ਹੈ, ਉਸ ਤੋਂ ਪਤਾ ਲਗਦਾ ਹੈ ਕਿ ਮੂਲ ਮੰਤਰ ਨ ਕੋਈ ਇਲਾਹੀ ਫੁਰਮਾਨ ਹੈ ਅਤੇ ਨ ਹੀ ਇਹ ਬਾਬੇ ਨਾਨਕ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਰਚਨਾ ਹੋ ਸਕਦੀ ਹੈ।—Lakhbir Singh, "Mohan Pothian de Darshan", *Gian Amrit*, October 1982, p. 20.
5. For details see pp.140-141, above.

Nanak or his successor. Accordingly, it is an inherent theological impossibility that Guru Arjun could ever think of altering the *bani* of Guru Nanak, much less his theology" (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p. 17)

(b) The changes attributed to the Guru, are not confined to phraseology, but involve major theological amendments, since these seek to replace the "formless God of Guru Nanak" to a "Personal God" and to substitute "satigur" (God) with the 'Guru '. (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p. 31)

The objections and contentions above, bring into relief a number of doctrinal issues of great import . They are: (a) character of revelation in the Sikh faith; (b) transmission of revelation; (c) canonization of the Holy Word; (d) Gurū Nānak and his successors' status; (e) prerogative of change in the Holy Word; and (f) linguistic versus theological changes in the Mūlmantra. We shall now take them up one by one and express ourselves on their import.

REVELATION IN THE SIKH FAITH

Like all faiths based on the written Word, the Sikh faith too claims the status of Divine Revelation for its holy book, the Gurū Granth . Though certain sections of it have been under frequent attack by the orthodox school on the question of granting them that status, the Granth is recognised and respected by all Sikhs as their living Guru. This is so because it is the repository of the Holy Word passed on by the Gurūs to the people. The revelatory character of Gurbānī is vouchsafed by several utterances met in the Granth itself; one by the Fifth Gurū reads : *dhur kī bānī āī, tini sagalī chint mitāī*[6] (The Word from Lord God above is with us; we are now rid of all worries). Gurū Nānak himself declares in one of his hymns *jaisī main āvai*

[6.] Sorath, M5, AG, p. 628.

khasam kī bānī, taisṛā karīiṅ giān ve lālo[7] (Whatever God re-
veals to me, I pass that on to my people). The revelatory
character of Gurbānī is thus confirmed and there need not
be any doubt on that score. One thing, however, needs
to be understood and it is the most important one. The
Sikh revelation cannot claim to have come in those very
linguistic units in which it is found recorded in the Holy
Scripture. That concept is germane to the Semitic religions
only. The adherents of the *Qurān* can claim the receipt of
their revelation in utterances made direct by God, for they
have one fixed text of the *Qurān* and their revelation is
worded, as if God was speaking to his people direct or
through the Prophet . No such claim can be made by the
Sikh Scripture. There are hundreds of codices of the *Ādi
Granth*, and the text-variants in them, in accordance with
the findings of the SGPC's own scrutinizing team,[8] runs
into thousands. Even if the current version were to be
taken, we shall have to account for three different versions
of the *so daru* hymn : one in the *Japu*, the other in the *Rahiras*
and the third in Rāga Āsā. The count of text-variants in
it goes up to thirty-one. It cannot be claimed that the *so
daru* was revealed to the Gurū thrice in different texts. That
will sound ridiculous. The problem does not end with *so
daru*. There are a number of other hymns too which appear
in the Holy Granth at two different places and yet show
marked text-variants[9]. This situation can be explained only
by postulating that, when in tune with the Universal

[7.] Tilang M I, AG., 722.

[8.] See *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib ji dīāṅ Santhā Sainchīāṅ ate Purātan Hath-likhat Birāṅ
de Parspar Pāth Bhedāṅ dī Sūchī* prepared by S . Randhir Singh, Giānī
Kundan Singh and Bhāī Giān Singh Nihaṅg and published by SGPC in
1977.

[9.] See : (a) Sloka, *ādi sachu jugādi sachu* (Japu & Sukhmanī *Ast.* 17)
        (b) Sloka, *pawan gurū pānī pitā* (Japu & Rāga Mājh).
        (c) Sahaskriti Slokas with their counterparts in Rāgas Āsā and Mājh).
        (d) Ravidās' hymn, *sukh sāgar sur tarū chintāmanī* (Rāga Sorath and Mārū)

Consciousness, revelations came to the Gurūs in ideas, concepts or truths, which the Gurūs put in the common parlance and broadcast them for the benefit of the people at large.

TRANSMISSION OF SIKH REVELATION

Transmission of Sikh revelation, particularly in the case of Gurū Nānak, was by mouth, i.e., oral. Gurū Nānak had Bhāī Mardānā with him . He played on the rebeck and Gurū Nānak sang his own hymns which charmed people's hearts and soothed their souls with the message that was coded in them. It can very well be imagined that, as and when people picked up fancy for Gurū Nānak's hymns, they committed them to memory and themselves recited them to others. A seventeenth century life-account of Gurū Nānak narrates how wandering minstrel roamed from place to place singing his hymns with the help of a crude instrument of two *kānās* (sticks). Transmission of *bāni,* thus, was oral. Yet the possibility remains that those acquainted with the three R's jotted down Bābā's hymns in their notebooks which may have served as sources at the time of compilation of the Holy Word.

In the act of transmission of *bāni* envisaged above, interference in *bāni* by the unwary illiterate is but natural . That is why colloquial formations, corrupted texts, different sequence of the verses and even incomplete hymns mar certain earlier codices. A very relevant instance is the text of the *Japu* in MS 1245. It, when checked up with the text left by Gurū Ramdas and found in earlier codices, presents a plethora of the colloquial element. It is wrong to call them "motivated distortions" as the obsessed Chandigarh stalwarts and

their supporters do.[10] The variations in it present the unintentional interference of the folkmind. The compiler seems to have recorded them faithfully without any approbation or rancour.

CANONIZATION OF THE HOLY WORD

Details of the tradition regarding the canonization of *bānī* have already been given in Book I and our observations on it too appear in Book II under the head "Conclusions". We need not again repeat them here. Yet, it will help the reader understand the problem better if we restate our position *vis-a-vis* the Chandigarh contenders':

(i) The Chandigarh contenders hold that there was only one—lone and final— attempt at compilation and canonization of Gurbānī, and it was undertaken and finished by Gurū Arjun. As against this, we hold that there were a number of earlier attempts at compilation and canonizing of Gurbānī. Replicas of earlier compilations in their rudimentary form may be seen in Guru Hari Sahāi Pothī, Bāhowal Pothī and Granth Bhāī Paindā Sāhib, Mohan Pothīs and MS 1245 (GNDU). That sporadic activity at compilation went on enthusiastically, is proved by various vestiges of primary collections still found in earlier codices, Kartārpurī Bīr included (*Gāthā*, pp. 414-430).

(ii) The Chandigarh scholars hold that after the preparation of the *Ādi Granth* by Gurū Arjun, all the codices of the Holy Granth that came up afterwards are copies of the Fifth Master's Granth. This belief of the Patriarch, Daljeet Singh, runs like warp and woof in his book *Authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir* and echoes in his journal too (*Abs* . Jan . 93, pp. 40 and 42). As against this, the present writer holds that efforts at compilation of *bānī*

[10.] See Trilochan Singh, "Pashaura Singh's Thesis" in *Planned Attack on Aad Sri Guru Granth Sahib* (ed . Bachittar Singh), pp. 200-201.

and presenting it in different recensions continued long
after the demise of the Fifth Master even (*Gāthā*, p. 437).
This is apparent from codices of later dates that are still
extant and present recensions different from the one that
is accepted at present.[11] It proves that the Sikhs had not
yet turned dogmatic, nor was there any injunction by the
Gurū on the point. Gurbānī was looked upon as redeemer,
whatever its form.

(iii) In passing, a word may again be said on Prof.
Sāhib Singh's assertion that all the writings of the
predecessor Gurūs were handed over to Gurū Arjun as
"ancestral treasure " by Gurū Rāmdās, where from the
Kartārpurī Bīr claimed to be the original *Ādi Granth* was
prepared . Extant earlier codices do not warrant this
fact, for the Kartārpurī Bīr, as we have seen, is full of
mistakes . It cannot be imagined that a manuscript
prepared from the holographs themselves, could be so
very hopeless . Besides, if the authors' own copies lay
at the basis of the compilation, the various codices, of
which the number is very large, should have shown
uniformity of the text . But, that they do not do. No
two primary codices show any conformity in that re-
spect. Texts and their components vary. Hence the
correct position is that *bānī* was collected from different
sources, scrutinized and then shaped into a Holy Granth.

GURU NANAK AND HIS SUCCESSORS

There is no gainsaying that spiritual status of Gurū
Nānak is unique and high. He was no doubt an emissary
of the Lord God himself. And it is also true that the
rest of the line of Gurūs were his beneficiary and they
had risen to that exalted status via his and his succes-
sors' initiation. We have no objection to the late patriarch,
Daljeet Singh and his co-editor's having picked up this

11. For details of these recensions see *Cātha*, pp. 439-447.

vital information from Bhāī Gurdās and used it to push
their argument. Yet, it would have sounded more honest
if they had quoted from the same vār the under men-
tioned utterance of Bhāī Gurdās and dwelt on it too:

ਜੋਤੀ ਜੋਤਿ ਜਗਾਇ ਦੀਪ ਦੀਪਾਇਆ ॥ ਨੀਰੰ ਅੰਦਰਿ ਨੀਰੁ ਮਿਲੈ ਮਿਲਾਇਆ ॥[12]

This means 'Gurū Nānak having infused his own
light in Lehnā enkindled the lamp of his soul as never
before. He merged his own spirit in his soul as water
merges in water .' The transformation wrought by Nānak
thus too was unique. By infusing in Lehnā his own light
he created another Nānak and the Second Nānak in his
turn created the Third till the figure reached ten. This
'Doctrine of the Same Spirit' working in all the ten
Gurūs, is an old and widely accepted belief of the Sikh
faith. Zulfiqār Ardistānī, popularly known as Mohsin
Fānī, who had visited the Sixth and the Seventh Nānak
and remained in the latter's court for long, vouchsafes
in his *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* that the Sikhs regard all their
Gurūs as Nānak. They believe that it is his (Bābā
Nānak's) spirit that having entered in their bodies,
guides the destiny of Nānak's followers .[13]

This belief, inbred as it is in the psyche of the Sikh
people, has been a cementing force and to deny it to
suit the needs of one's argument, as Chandigarh schol-
ars do in face of vehement evidence of the Mulmantra
having undergone a change at the hands of the Fifth
Nanak, behoves only the Chandigarh coterie of scholars,
who are not tired of blaming others for blasphemy but
deem themselves to be above it!

PREROGATIVE OF CHANGE IN THE HOLY WORD

As stated above, I had in my book, *Gāthā*, speculated

[12.] *Vār* 20, *paurī* 2, Verses 5-6.
[13.] See *Mākhuz-e-Tawārikh-i-Sikhān* (ed.) Ganda Singh, p.31.

that at an early stage of the materializing of the Sikh
canon, a Mūlmantra akin to the one that is found in
Mohan Pothīs, was probably in vogue and that it was
at the time of canonizing of the Holy Word that its
present form was standardized and given currency. I
had not questioned the current Mūlmantra's credentials,
and had only explained the change, in conformity with
the Sikh thought and principles. Yet, the Chandigarh
orthodoxy chose to robe me in, for the same problem
as was agitating their minds because of Pashaura Singh's
similar attempt, though his line of thought was quite
different. It behoves us to examine their contentions.

The Patriarch and his co-editor are at pains to declare
that "a change in revealed *bānī* is a theological con-
tradiction" (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p.17). This statement has two
imports; one general and the other specific. In its general
import, it begs the question 'what revealed *bānī* is?
What should be its criterion?' The learned writers of
the Editorial do not shed any light on it, yet from
an observation met in the same editorial (p. 14), they
appear to say that whatever is 'in the Holy Scripture
and was authenticated by the Fifth Master himself, is
both revealed and final'. This is swearing by the
Kartārpurī Bīr dogma. Hollowness of the Kartārpurī
Bīr to lay claim to its being the original Bīr prepared
by Bhāī Gurdās has well been exposed in these pages.
The Damdamī Bīr said to have been authenticated by
the Tenth Master too is not available. What should
then our criterion be? How to decide problems relating
to the text? The inevitable answer would be "by
engaging in hermeneutic study— not of one particular
codex, but of as many as are easily available and are
considered reliable". Besides, reason commended by
Gurū Nānak[14] should be our guide and consensus, our

[14.] *aqlīn sāhibu seviai aqlīn pāiai mān*—Var, Sāraṅg, Sloka MI, *AG*, 1245.

mainstay. This will be in conformity with our daily prayer (ਅਰਦਾਸ) in which we beg for *bibek* (reason).

Coming to the specific problem of the change in the Mūlmantra, so far as the authenticity of the current Mūlmantra is concerned, there is no quarrel, for I have nowhere challenged it, I have rather accepted it in toto. Actually, the Chandigarh scholars are wary of my contention that in the initial stages the Mūlmantra found in the Mohan Pothīs was very much in vogue and that it was standardized in its present form by Guru Arjun at the time of canonization of *bānī*. As against this, they contend that it is the current Mulmantra that was revealed to Gurū Nanak and that the Mūlmantra in the Mohan Pothīs is of Handālī origin' (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p. 31). Both the contentions have already been dealt with in the preceding pages.[15] It has been shown that it is the Mūlmantra of Mohan Pothīs that is reflected in Gurū Nānak's and other Gurū's *bānī* and not the current Mūlmantra. The most clinching proof of the change having been made is that in the current Mūlmantra, *saibhang* (ਸੈਭੰ) takes the place of *sambhau* (ਸੰਭਉ) of the Mohan Pothis. This *saibhang* does not figure anywhere in the *bānī* of the Gurūs at all. It appears thirty-three times in the Mūlmantras only. This and the fact of the Mūlmantra of the Mohan Pothīs finding full reflection in all the first five Gurūs' *bānī* proves that a change in the Mūlmantra did take place, and this vindicates my stand, for I was indicted for suggesting that like the short mangal the Mūlmantra too had undergone a change.

To the disappointment of the Chandigarh scholars, their "Handālī Manglacharan" argument too collapses. A Manglacharan that is reflected in the first Gurū's *bānī*

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[15]. See pp. 137-139, above.

cannot be a Handālī work. It rather shows the schismatic group's borrowings from their parent body. Considered that way, anteriority of the Mulmantra of the Mohan Pothīs' over the other, is established beyond doubt.

The Chandigarh scholars deny Gurū Arjun his prerogative to make a change in the Holy Word. This tentamounts to denial of the 'Doctrine of the Same Spirit' (ik joti) which lies at the root of the Sikh transformation over a long period of some two hundred years and is deeply embedded in the Sikh psyche. They thus, are themselves guilty of blasphemy. The most funny thing, in this context is their repeated assertion that—

> Except the Adi Granth there is no scripture in the world that has been recorded either by, or during the life of the original prophet. Whether it is the Torah, the Bible, the Dhampada or the Qoran, each was compiled and finalised long after the demise of the prophet concerned . . . it is the unique vision of the Fifth Master, that he eliminated all possibilities of such criticism by himself compiling and authenticating the bānī (Abs., Jan. 93, p. 8).

And, yet they unabashedly deny "the Doctrine of the Same Spirit' when they are confronted with the irrefutable evidence of a change having been made in the Mūlmantra. It were sixty-six long years after the demise of Gurū Nānak in AD 1538 that the Ādi Bīr was prepared in AD 1604. The above claim—that of bānī having been recorded by the original prophet himself can be upheld only if the 'Doctrine of the Same Spirit' working in the Fifth Master is upheld, otherwise the above claim collapses. Gurū Arjun, at the time of canonization of Bānī was, indeed, the Fifth Nānak. His Word for the Sikhs, is equally the revealed one. And, as compiler and editor he had the prerogative of making corrections which he

did, as is apparent from his editorial comments *"sudhu "* and *"sudhu keechai"*. He could, as a successor Gurū, make elucidatory changes too, keeping the revealed truth in contact . This is the logical conclusion of this discourse.

The Chandigarh scholars' thrust that as revealed Bānī, its linguistic expressions, in which it was couched, are inviolate, is based on the misconception that the Sikh revelation, like the Muslims', came in verbal expressions . This, as we have already shown, is untenable. We have, therefore, to accept Gurū Arjun's prerogative to make elucidatory changes; and that is what appeared in the case of the standardized Mūlmantra.

The incident of Rām Rāi losing his right to Gurgaddī has been recalled by the Chandigarh contenders to fortify their argument in the above context . Not going into the bonafides of the details of the incident, we would like to point out that the analogy which is sought to be proved is misleading. First, Rām Rāi, at the time the incident happened, had no such prerogative, since he was not yet a Gurū. Secondly, he had made the change under fear of invoking Emperor's wrath. This could not be countenanced by the Sikh Gurūs. Hence his ouster.

LINGUISTIC VERSUS THEOLOGICAL CHANGE

The Chandigarh scholars are vehement in their charge that changes I had shown to have been made by Gurū Arjun in the Mūlmantra, "are not confined to phraseology, but involve major theological amendments, since they seek to replace the "Formless God" of Gurū Nānak to a "Personal God" and to substitute "Satigur" (God) with the "Gurū" (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p. 31). I have not been able to make out what the Patriarch and his co-editor want to say in the statement quoted above. The four

changes— of *sachu* into *sati, kartār* into *kartā purakhu*, *nirīkar* into *nirvair* and *sambhau* into *saibhang*, do not in any way infringe upon the connotation of the original attributes, rather they, as shown by me, elucidate them markedly.

The Patriarch's allegation of having wrought a theological change by substituting *Satigur* (God) with the "Guru" (*Abs.*, Jan., 93, p. 31) is an enigma to me. I do not know what he wants to say. To seek elucidation of the point I wrote S. Kharak Singh Mann the writer of the editorial, two letters (one ordinary, dated 19 Jan. 95 and the other registered, dated 28 Feb., 1995). To my dismay he has not cared to send me a reply, nor even to acknowledge my letters. The charge was evidently framed by S. Daljeet Singh (who is no more on this earth) and S. Kharak Singh Mann who lent his name to it as its editor, is helpless to substantiate it. I, therefore, leave it to the readers to judge its validity themselves.

OTHER BASELESS CHARGES

THE BLASPHEMY SYNDROME

The Institute of Sikh Studies, Chandigarh, of late has grown very aggressive and now has virtually turned into a 'blasphemy-coining-mint' cum 'conspiracy-sensing-radar'. Whatever does not conform to their dogmatic view is branded as 'blasphemy' and its writer is seen involved in some imaginary conspiracy against the Sikh Panth and the Sikh Religion. All this is, of course, due to their morbid thinking.

To show the nature of their charges of blasphemy, I would like to refer to only one. The editorial that has been referred to a number of times above, begins its inquisition against me under the head "Blasphemy". Taste of its tenor may be had from the following example.

Blasphemy discovered	Actual passage in the Gatha
on page 156 (of his book Gatha), he (Piar Singh) says that a *shabad* of Raag Tilang is present in the Ahiyapur Mohan Pothi, but is missing in the Guru Granth Sahib. The evident blasphemy is that he calls a *shabad* which is not in the Guru Granth Sahib, to be Gurbani, claiming thereby that he has traced Gurbani that the Fifth Master failed to trace and include in the *Adi Granth*. (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p. 30).	ਤਤਕਰੇ ਵਿਚ ਰਾਗ ਤਿਲੰਗ ਦੇ ਮਹਲਾ 4 ਦੇ ਦੋ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਲਿਖੇ ਹੋਏ ਹਨ ਪਰ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਹੁੰਦੇ ਹਨ ਤਿੰਨ। ਤੀਸਰਾ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਇਸ ਤਰ੍ਹਾਂ ਹੈ: ਮੇਰੇ ਸਾਹਾ ਮੈ ਹਰਿ ਦਰਸ਼ਨ ਸੁਖੁ ਹੋਇ॥............ ਇਹ ਸ਼ਬਦ ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਵਿਚ ਪ੍ਰਾਪਤ ਨਹੀਂ। ਪਰ ਅਹੀਆਪੁਰ ਵਾਲੀ ਬਾਬਾ ਮੋਹਨ ਜੀ ਦੀ ਪੋਥੀ ਵਿਚ ਹੈ। (ਪੰਨਾ 156)

Comments : The passage in my book relates to MS 1245 (GNDU) and not to Mohan Pothīs . In the passage I had merely sought to show that the hymn is found in both the earlier codices . I had no where insisted that it be considered Gurbānī and entered in the Holy Scripture. The mere use of the Word *sabad* cannot attract any charge of blasphemy, but it pleases the Chandigarh scholars' whim to term it so!

Besides, they are wary of my pointing out a few scribal mistakes in the text of the Granth and yet ignore the voluminous book covering 860 pages containing over six thousand text-variants prepared by their own scholars and published by the SGPC itself in 1977.[1] Could there be any better example of double standards of justice?

THE CONSPIRACY-SENSING-RADAR

The Conspiracy Sensing Radar of the Chandigarh Institute of Sikh Studies is very powerful., Its antenna wherever placed fail not to sense even a non-existent conspiracy! In my case the Chandigarh Journal's editorial covers three full pages under two heads "the Motives" and "the Author's Associations". In both same things and same arguments are repeated *ad nauseam*. The sum and substance of the whole exercise is that there appears to be "a close link among the trio of Drs. Mcleod, Pashaura Singh and Piar Singh". . . (They are) "trying unreasonably to attack or question the authenticity of the Kartarpuri Bir which is the unshakeable and authentic base of the Guru Granth Sahib" (*Abs* . Jan . 93, p. 41)

The irony of the charge is that the writer of the editorial, who to my mind is no other than the Patriarch himself, at one place showers lavish praise on Pashaura

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1. ਸ੍ਰੀ ਗੁਰੂ ਗ੍ਰੰਥ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਦੀਆਂ ਸੇਵਾ ਸੰਚੀਆਂ ਅਤੇ ਪੁਰਾਤਨ ਹੱਥ-ਲਿਖਤ ਪਾਵਨ ਬੀੜਾਂ ਦੇ
ਪਰਸਪਰ ਪਾਠ-ਭੇਦਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੂਚੀ (ਸੰਪਾ. : ਰਣਧੀਰ ਸਿੰਘ, ਕੁੰਦਨ ਸਿੰਘ ਅਤੇ ਗਿਆਨ ਸਿੰਘ)

Singh along with Jodh Singh, Mahān Singh, Haribhajan Singh and Daljeet Singh for testifying to the genuineness of the *nishān* and, thereby, vouchsafing the authenticity of the Kartārpurī Bīṛ (*Abs.*, Jan. 93, p. 36 ff). But he robes him 'subsequently' in the conspiracy, for without him this writer (Piar Singh) could not be hauled up. Such is the rationale by which the editorial swears!

For the readers' information, I would like to declare with all the emphasis at my command that I had not seen Pashaura Singh nor had, at any time, prior to June 25, 1994, been in correspondence with him. I came to know him only after he came to Amritsar on June 25, 1994, to appear before the Akal Takht. Likewise, Dr . Mcleod and I have never been in touch with each other for over fifteen years prior to the publication of *Gāthā*. All the stories the Chandigarh coterie has floated, are but figments of their diseased mind.

BOOK IV
APPENDICES

I

GLOSSARY

Since we have, in this work, scrupulously avoided italicizing Punjabi words, barring of course Gurbānī and a few most tanaciously occurring terms, we have for the benefit of the readers thought it advisable to add this glossary for easy reference and grasp of their meanings.

ardās	supplication, prayer
aṣṭpadī	a stanza of eight verses
auṅkar	the diacritic representing the sound 'u' in Gurmukhi
bhasam	ash; oxide of a metal
bhāva	emotion, sentiment
_, dāsa	sentiments of a slave/*sewak*
_, sakhā	sentiments of a friend
bīr	codex, recension
chaupadā	a stanza of four lines, quartet
chhakkā	a group of six units
chhaṅt	a genre of lyrical poetry
dhunī	tune
ghar	house, tune
goshti	dialogue, debate
Granth	book, treatise, work
Gurbānī, bānī	the Holy Word of the Gurus
Gurgaddī	seat of succession for the Guru

gutkā	a booklet containing bānī
hartāl	a yellow paste for erasing/obliterating mistakes
Hukamnāmā	decree, command
kanaura	the diacritic to represent the sound /au/
Mahal	place, honorifically 'Guru'
Mahallā	honorific name for 'Guru'
Mangal	invocatory formula
maryādā	covention, way
nishān	autograph
pada	verse, hymn
panth	way, the Sikh community
patrā	leaf, folio
paurī	stanza, a poetic genre
pothī	codex, booklet
rāga	musical mode
rahāo	pause, refrain
sabad/sabda	word, hymn
sainchī	section of a book
sammat/sambat	era
sawayyā	a panegric
sloka	stanza, a poetic genre
sūchī-patra	contents' page
sudhu	'is correct'
—keechai	please correct, needs correction
śunya	zero, cipher
tatkarā	index
vāk	saying, utterance
vār	a heroic ballad, an ode

II

PRINT MEDIA BIBLIOTHECA

Choronolgy of events and sources from where the needed information can be retrieved.

1. *Gāthā Srī Ādi Granth* put up for sale at the University counter (24 Nov., 1992)

2. "SGPC to proceed against two authors, Piār Singh and Pashaurā Singh" (*Jansatā* - Hindī, 13 Dec., 1992; *Tribune & I.E.*, 15 Dec., 1992).

3. First Letter by Piār Singh to SGPC Chief expressing his willingness to make amends etc. (*Ajīt*, 16 & 19 Dec., 92)

4. Sale of book suspended by the University (*I.E.*, 16 Dec., 92)

5. Ban on research on the Gurū Granth imposed by the SGPC (*Tribune*, 7 Jan., 93)

6. *Srī Gurū Granth Sāhib upar Kitābī Hamlā* by Amarjīt Singh (*Ajj di Awāz*, Jalandhar, 20 Dec., 92)

7. *"Khoj nāhīn ginī mithī shararat"*—Fulmination of three Chandigarh based writers (*Pbi. Tri.*, 26 Dec., 92)

8. *"Baudhak masliāṅ upar fatwe : Khatarnāk rojhān"* by Harcharan Bains (*Pbi. Tri.*, 26 Dec., 92)—a critique on the news noted at No. 7 above

9. *"Gurū Granth Sāhib dī Pramāniktā te Prashan Chiṅh"* by Major General (Retd.) Narinder Singh and G.S . Dhillon (*Pbi. Tri.*, 3 Jan ., 93), a poser to article No. 8 above.

10. *"Baudhak Goshtī : Dalīl Banām Dūshanbāzī "* by

Harcharan Bains (*Pbi. Tri.*, 6 Jan., 93). Reply to 9 above.

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